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TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

Page

Resolution of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng To Be First Vice Chairman of Central Committee of Communist Party of China and Premier of State Council of People's Republic of China (p. 5) 3

Resolution of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from All Posts Both Inside and Outside Party (p. 6) 4

Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square (p. 7) 5

Comrade Wu Teh's Broadcast Speech at Tienanmen Square (p. 10) 10

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PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

Great Victory for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat - by Ch'ih Heng (p. 11) 11

Fight for the Consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (p. 16) 17

Use Revolutionary Public Opinion to Crush Counter-Revolutionary Public Opinion - by Liang Hsiao (p. 21) . . . 23

Teng Hsiao-p'ing Is the Chief Culprit of the Tienanmen Square Incident - by Hung Kuang-ssu (p. 27) . . . 30

The Class Enemies Are Weak and Isolated - by Wei Hsia-an (p. 31) . . 35

Teng Hsiao-p'ing Totally Betrays Marxism - by Li Chang (p. 35) . . . 40

What Did Teng Hsiao-p'ing Preach on the Sports Front? - by Yün Li (p. 53) 51

Criticize the Revisionist Fallacies on the Industrial and Communications Front - by Chung Shih (p. 45) 56

Attacking the Great Cultural Revolution Means Frenziedly Attempting Restoration - by Ch'in Yen (p. 57) 66

Two Short Commentaries (p. 62)

"Memory" and "Nature" 71

What Does "Relative Reliance" Mean? 73

Firmly Grasp Class Struggle as the Key Link (p. 66) 76

Class Struggle Has Never Died Out - by Wu Ch'uan-ch'ing (p. 72) 83

Vow To Be the Strong Pillar of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (p. 76) 88

Mao Tsetung Thought Guides Us To Advance Against the Wind (p. 80) 93

Reproduced: What Does Incident at Tienanmen Square Show? - Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial (p. 84) 99

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?

The question involved in Tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle.

Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people.

He does not understand Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie. He says he will "never reverse verdicts." He is unreliable!

What! Take the "three directives as the key"! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key and everything else hinges on it.

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a comeback and prohibit all counter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes.

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.

If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population.

Resolution of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng To Be First Vice Chairman of Central Committee of Communist Party of China and Premier of State Council of People's Republic of China

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

(NCNA dispatch April 7, 1976)

resolution of the central committee of the communist party of china on the appointment of comrade hua kuo-feng to be first vice-chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and premier of the state council of the people's republic of china

on the proposal of our great leader chairman mao, the political bureau of the central committee of the communist party of china unanimously agrees to appoint comrade hua kuo-feng first vice-chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and premier of the state council of the people's republic of china.

the central committee of the communist party of china

april 7, 1976.

Resolution of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from All Posts Both Inside and Outside Party

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

(NCNA dispatch April 7, 1976)

resolution of the central committee of the communist party of china on dismissing teng hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party

having discussed the counter-revolutionary incident which took place at tienanmen square and teng hsiao-ping's latest behaviours, the political bureau of the central committee of the communist party of china holds that the nature of the teng hsiao-ping problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction. on the proposal of our great leader chairman mao, the political bureau unanimously agrees to dismiss teng hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party while allowing him to keep his party membership so as to see how he will behave himself in the future.

the central committee of the communist party of china

april 7, 1976.

Counter-Revolutionary Political Incident at Tienanmen Square

by

Worker-Peasant-Soldier Correspondents and Staff Correspondents of the Jen-min Jih-pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

early april, a handful of class enemies, under the guise of commemorating the late premier chou during the ching ming festival, engineered an organized, premeditated and planned counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square in the capital. they flagrantly made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary poems and slogans, distributed reactionary leaflets and agitated for the setting up of counter-revolutionary organizations. by means of insinuation and overt counter-revolutionary language, they brazenly clamoured that "the era of chin shih huang is gone". openly hoisting the ensign of supporting teng hsiao-ping, they frenziedly directed their spearhead at our great leader chairman mao, attempted to split the party central committee headed by chairman mao, tried to change the general orientation of the current struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and counter-attack the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, and engaged in counter-revolutionary activities.

the counter-revolutionary activities culminated on april 5. at about 8:00 a.m., a loudspeaker car of the municipal public security bureau was overturned, the body of the car and its loudspeakers smashed. after 9:00 a.m., more than ten thousand people gathered in front of the great hall of the people. at its maximum the crowd at tienanmen square numbered about one hundred thousand people. except for a handful of bad elements who were bent on creating disturbances, the majority of the people were passers-by who came over to see what was happening. some of the people were around the monument to the people's heroes; the majority were concentrated on the west side of the square near the eastern gate of the great hall of the people. a dozen young people were beaten up by some bad elements, receiving cuts and bruises on their heads with blood trickling down their swollen faces. the hooligans shouted: "beat them to death excl. beat them to death excl." an army guard who tried to stop the hooligans by persuasion had his insignia pulled off, uniform torn and his face beaten to bleed. the bad elements exclaimed: "who can put this situation under control? nobody in the central committee can. should he come today he would not be able to return excl." their unbridled counter-revolutionary arrogance infuriated the masses, many of them saying: "ever since liberation, tienanmen square has always been the place where our

great leader chairman mao reviews parades of the revolutionary masses. we'll absolutely not tolerate such counter-revolutionary acts happening here excl." several hundred worker-militiamen who went up the flight of steps leading to the great hall of the people to stand guard were broken up into several sections by the hooligans. the latter repeatedly shouted reactionary slogans and savagely beat up anyone in the crowd who opposed them. some of those who got beaten up were dragged to the monument and forced to kneel down and "confess their crimes".

at 11:05 a.m., many people surged towards the museum of chinese history on the east side of the tienanmen square. in front of the museum, a woman comrade came forward to dissuade them, and she was immediately manhandled. at this moment, a bunch of bad elements besieged a people's liberation army barrack by the clock tower in the southeast corner of the square. they crushed the door, broke into the building and occupied it. a few bad elements, sporting a crew cut, took turns to incite the people, shouting themselves hoarse through a transistor megaphone. towards twelve o'clock, some of the trouble-makers proclaimed the inauguration of what they called "committee of the people of the capital for commemorating the premier". a bad element wearing spectacles had the impudence to announce that the public security bureau must give its reply in ten minutes. he threatened that if their demands were not met, they would smash the security department.

at 12:30, the p.l.a. fighters on guard duty at tienanmen square marched in formation towards their barrack to guard it. the bad elements who were making disturbances shouted in instigation: "the people's army should stand on the side of the people excl." and "those befuddled by others are innocent excl." later, they overturned a shanghai sedan car and set it on fire. the firemen and p.l.a. guards who came to the rescue were blocked, and a fire-engine was wrecked. these bad elements said that putting out the fire meant "suppressing the mass movement". several members of the fire-brigade were beaten to bleed.

at 12:45, a detachment of people's police came as reinforcement. but they too were taunted and stopped. the caps of several policemen were snatched by the rioters and thrown to the air. some even threw knives and daggers at the people's police. several policemen were rounded up and assaulted.

in the afternoon, the sabotage activities of this handful of counter-revolutionaries became still more frenzied. they burned up four motor vehicles bringing water and food to the worker-militiamen on duty or

belonging to the public security department. around 17:00, this gang of bad elements again broke into the barrack, abducted and beat up the sentries, smashed windows and doors on the ground floor and looted everything in the rooms. radios, quilts, bed sheets, clothing and books were all thrown into the fire by this gang of counter-revolutionaries. they also burned and smashed dozens of bicycles of the peking worker-militiamen. black smoke belched into the sky amid a hubbub of counter-revolutionary clamours. nearly all the window panes in the barrack were smashed. then they set the barrack on fire.

the revolutionary masses showed utmost hatred for this counter-revolutionary political incident. yet the handful of bad elements said glibly: "it manifests the strength of the masses." they went so far as to claim brazenly that "the situation has now got out of hand, it would be of no use even if a regiment or an army was called in", and so on and so forth, showing their unbridled reactionary arrogance.

see how these counter-revolutionaries, using extremely decadent and reactionary language and the trick of insinuation, viciously attacked and slandered our great leader chairman mao and other leading comrades on the party central committee:

"devils howl as we pour out our grief,

"we weep but the wolves laugh,

"we spill our blood in memory of the hero,

"raising our brows, we unsheathe our swords.

"china is no longer the china of yore,

"and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance,

"gone for good is chin shih huang's feudal society,

"we believe in marxism-leninism,

"to hell with

"those scholars who emasculate marxism-leninism excl.

"what we want is genuine marxism-leninism.

"for the sake of genuine marxism-leninism,

"we fear not shedding our blood and laying down our lives,

"the day modernization in four fields is realized,

"we will come back to offer libations and sacrifices."

the clamours of these counter-revolutionaries about combating "chin shih huang" and demanding "genuine marxism-leninism" were out-and-out counter-revolutionary agitation in the same vein as the language used in lin piao's plan for a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, "outline of project '571'". by directing their spearhead at our great leader chairman mao and the party central committee headed by chairman mao, and lauding teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, these counter-revolutionaries laid bare unmistakably their criminal aim to practise revisionism and restore capitalism in china.

in the past few days these elements not only wrote reactionary poems but plastered reactionary posters. they lauded teng hsiao-ping and attempted to nominate him to play the role of nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary incident in hungary. they talked nonsense, alleging that "with teng hsiao-ping in charge of the work of the central committee, the struggle has won decisive victory" "to the great satisfaction of the people throughout the country." they uttered vile slanders, saying "the recent so-called anti-right-deviationist struggle is the act of a handful of careerists to reverse verdicts." they openly opposed the great struggle initiated and led by chairman mao to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts; their counter-revolutionary arrogance was inflated to the utmost.

however, the time when these counter-revolutionary elements ran rampant coincided with the day of their downfall. going against the will of the people, they were extremely isolated. as these bad elements were making disturbances, perpetrating acts of violence and sabotage, many revolutionary people courageously stepped forward to denounce their counter-revolutionary acts and struggled against them. the peking worker-militia, people's police and army guards on duty at the square and the revolutionary people present at the time worked in close cooperation, and fought bravely in defence of chairman mao, of the party central committee, chairman mao's revolutionary line and the great capital of our socialist motherland. when the handful of bad elements again set fire to the barrack at five p.m., the army guards put out the fire at the risk of their own lives. to safeguard the great hall of the people, more than 100 peking worker-militiamen were injured, a dozen of them seriously wounded. six army guards were abducted and many wounded. risking dangers, the people's police persevered in fighting. although the barrack was

besieged and fire was engulfing the first floor, leading comrades of the peking worker-militia command post persevered in the struggle on the second floor. at this critical moment, the switchboard operator calmly reported the news to leading departments concerned.

at 6:30 p.m., after comrade wu teh's speech was broadcast, most of the on-lookers and the masses who had been taken in quickly dispersed. but a handful of counter-revolutionaries continued their desperate resistance and again posted some reactionary poems on the monument to the people's heroes.

three hours later, on receiving an order from the peking municipal revolutionary committee, tens of thousands of worker-militiamen, in coordination with the people's police and p.l.a. guards, took resolute measures and enforced proletarian dictatorship. in high morale, the heroic peking militiamen filed into tienanmen square valiantly and mounted powerful counter-attacks. they encircled those bad elements who were still creating disturbances and committing crimes in the vicinity of the monument to the people's heroes. they detained the active criminals and major suspects. in the face of powerful proletarian dictatorship, the handful of rioters could not withstand even a single blow. they squatted down, trembling like stray dogs. some hurriedly handed over their daggers, knives and notebooks on which they had copied the reactionary poems. several criminals who pulled out their daggers in a vain attempt to put up a last-ditch fight were duly punished. the revolutionary masses and the people of the whole city supported and acclaimed the revolutionary action of the peking worker-militia, the people's police and p.l.a. guards.

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao, April 8, 1976)

Comrade Wu Teh's Broadcast Speech at Tienanmen Square

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

(NCNA dispatch April 7, 1976) comrade wu teh made a broadcast speech on april 5 at tienanmen square. full text of the speech follows:

comrades,

in the past few days while we were studying our great leader chairman mao's important instructions, counter-attacking the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and grasping revolution and promoting production, a handful of bad elements out of ulterior motives made use of the ching ming festival to deliberately create a political incident, directing their spearhead at chairman mao and the party central committee in a vain attempt to change the general orientation of the struggle to criticize the unrepentant capitalist-roader teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line and beat back the right deviationist attempt. we must see clearly the reactionary nature of this political incident, expose the schemes and intrigues of the bad elements, heighten our revolutionary vigilance and avoid being taken in.

revolutionary masses and cadres of the municipality must take class struggle as the key link, act immediately, and by concrete action defend chairman mao, defend the party central committee, chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the great capital of our socialist motherland, deal resolute blows at counter-revolutionary sabotage and further strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the excellent situation. let us rally round the party central committee headed by chairman mao and win still greater victories excl.

today, there are bad elements carrying out disruption and disturbances and engaging in counter-revolutionary sabotage at tienanmen square. revolutionary masses must leave the square at once and not be duped by them.

Great Victory for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

by

Ch'ih Heng (池 恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

The two wise decisions made by the CCP Central Committee on the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao and the swift smashing of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square by the capital's worker-militia in close coordination with the people's police and army guards are a great victory for the struggle personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and also a great victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat. People of all nationalities throughout the country warmly cheer this great victory. In the past few days, the Party, government, the army and people in various localities have held grand rallies and parades and sent messages to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to voice their resolute support for the CCP Central Committee's resolution on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council and resolution on dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party. They indignantly denounce the reactionary crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, and angrily condemn the crimes of a handful of class enemies who engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. A new upsurge of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and tracking down the counter-revolutionaries is being whipped up swiftly.

The counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square was not an accidental or isolated incident. It was an acute manifestation of the sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, a death-throes struggle waged by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party with Teng Hsiao-p'ing as chieftain, which had suffered a telling blow in the anti-Right deviationist struggle. Gathering under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sinister banner, a handful of class enemies openly staged the counter-revolutionary riot whose vicious aim was to overthrow the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to have Teng Hsiao-p'ing take over the leadership of the Party and the state to restore capitalism. This counter-revolutionary riot was promptly smashed by heavy blows from the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as Chairman Mao, when dealing with the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointed out, "If the revolutionary people do not master this method of ruling over the counter-revolutionary class, they will not be able

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* Excerpts were carried by NCNA on April 26, and have been incorporated into this full translation--SPRCM Ed.

to maintain their state power, domestic and foreign reaction will overthrow that power and restore its own rule over China, and disaster will befall the revolutionary people." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") The struggle which smashed the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square has enlightened us in many ways; most basically it has enabled us to gain deeper understanding of the cardinal need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and acquire new experience in exercising that dictatorship.

Are there still classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society? Is it still necessary to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat? On this question, there is a constant struggle between the Marxist and the revisionist lines in our Party. Chairman Mao has scientifically analyzed the class relations in socialist society and laid down the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. He has pointed out the necessity to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, reminded us never to forget classes and class struggle, and repeatedly criticized the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Recently, Chairman Mao commented: "In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" Through the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, it can be clearly seen that by advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the ringleaders of the revisionist lines in the Party intended to lull the revolutionary will and revolutionary vigilance of the people and cover up their attempts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished up "taking the three directives as the key link," and opposed taking class struggle as the key link; he sneered at reminding people of class struggle every day. But at the same time a handful of class enemies supporting him engineered the counter-revolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square similar to the Hungarian incident. Doesn't this show us that in advocating the theory that class struggle is dying out, Teng Hsiao-p'ing tried to provide cover for frenzied bourgeois attacks on the proletariat and to restore the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie? The soul-stirring class struggle that occurred at Tienanmen Square sharply revealed the reactionary nature and hypocrisy of those putting forward the theory that class struggle is dying out. It helped us to profoundly understand what the dictatorship of the proletariat is and what capitalist restoration means. All revolutionary people must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching not to forget classes and class struggle and not to forget the dictatorship of the proletariat at any time.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and the capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie within the Party during the period of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao says: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square has enabled us to reach a deeper understanding of this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's. Why is it that a handful of class enemies reacted to our counter-attack against the Right deviationist attempt and criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line by coming out into the open and "not being afraid of losing our heads and shedding our blood," frenziedly directing the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him? Why is it that this handful of class enemies openly flaunted the ensign of support for Teng Hsiao-p'ing, lauding his revisionist line as "genuine Marxism-Leninism" and shouting themselves hoarse "for Teng Hsiao-p'ing to preside over the work of the Central Committee"? Why was it that those counter-revolutionary political rumors fabricated during the Right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing to reverse verdicts were spread with ever increasing intensity shortly before the counter-revolutionary political incident took place at Tienanmen Square? The incontrovertible fact is that the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists formed the class basis on which Teng Hsiao-p'ing fanned the Right deviationist wind and pushed his revisionist line; on the other hand, it was on Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the champion of revisionism, that these people based their attempts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line represented the aims of this handful of counter-revolutionaries and abetted and protected them, they naturally raised this sinister ensign and sang his praises. The incident which took place at Tienanmen Square had its origin in the unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the Party, while Teng Hsiao-p'ing was the behind-the-scenes boss that provoked it. This is the close political link between Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the handful of class enemies who perpetrated the incident. It explains why Teng Hsiao-p'ing was cast by the handful of class enemies in the role of Nagy, ringleader of the counter-revolutionary incident in Hungary. While carrying out the socialist revolution and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should be fully alive to the danger of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, in particular representatives of the bourgeoisie like Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and understand clearly that the main target of the revolution is "those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Failure to understand this means failure of a real understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle to smash the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, the worker-militia in the capital provided us with valuable experience in relying on the masses to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship exercised by the masses. Chairman Mao has stated: "Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally,

the working class and the entire people under its leadership." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") How swollen with reactionary arrogance the handful of class enemies were as they blantantly carried out their counter-revolutionary propaganda and showed themselves in their true colors by beating up people and committing arson at Tienanmen Square in the capital of our great motherland, which is the focus of attention of people throughout the country! But, once the capital's worker-militiamen marched into the Square and took resolute measures in coordination with the people's police and army guards, the handful of class enemies instantly collapsed. The worker-militia in the capital, armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and under the unified leadership and command of the Party, brought into sharp relief the great might of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marxists attach great importance to the role of revolutionary violence; they stand for the use of revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat "presupposes the ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters, the capitalists, landowners and their underlings," adding: "Whoever does not understand this is not a revolutionary." ("Greetings to the Hungarian Workers," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 388) The act of the capital's worker-militia in crushing the counter-revolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square was a case of using revolutionary violence to deal with counter-revolutionary violence. The glorious example they set and the experience they gained was of momentous and far-reaching significance for us in relying on the working class and the revolutionary masses under the conditions of socialism to crush the sabotage by any class enemy, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and prevent the restoration of capitalism. At present, we should apply their experience and fully rely upon the power of the mass dictatorship to deal resolute blows to the class enemies' sabotage and to suppress the counter-revolutionaries and those who engage in beating, smashing and looting.

Revolutionary public opinion is an important component of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revolutionary public opinion demonstrated tremendous power in the struggle to crush the counter-revolutonary political incident staged at Tienanmen Square. Chairman Mao points out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." The bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a small handful of class enemies also understand this quite well. Teng Hsiao-p'ing did his utmost to stir up the Right deviationist wind and spread a lot of fallacies. In coordination with this, various kinds of counter-revolutionary political rumors were circulated here, there and everywhere. At Tienanmen Square, a handful of class enemies tried to create counter-revolutionary public opinion by making reactionary speeches, posting up reactionary poems and slogans, distributing reactionary leaflets. In the course of the counter-revolutionary adverse current beginning with the Right deviationist wind stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and ending in the culmination of the Tienanmen Square incident, counter-revolutionary public opinion, including political rumors, played a very bad role. However, those clowns who were used to living in the dark could not stand the sunlight and were scared to death by revolutionary public opinion. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique once launched vigorous attack on the Chinese Communists who persisted in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and on revolutionary public opinion. The class enemies who created the counter-

revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square also viciously attacked and slandered the proletariat's tools of public opinion, and even overturned our broadcasting van, smashing it and its loudspeakers. Wasn't this an indication of their extreme fear of revolutionary public opinion and of our telling the truth? Our enemies are decadent reactionaries. They are doomed to destruction. They wanted to deceive themselves as well others, and therefore had to rely on spreading rumors. As soon as this was met by revolutionary public opinion, their hodgepodge proved helpless and they themselves were no longer able to carry on as before. Through this struggle, we have been made further aware of the significance of the work of revolutionary public opinion in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and learned how to use revolutionary public opinion to overcome counter-revolutionary public opinion. Chairman Mao says: "In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a comeback and prohibit all counter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes." ("Introductory Notes to 'Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-revolutionary Clique'.") In order to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must keep firmly in mind this teaching of Chairman Mao's, and at no time and in no circumstances should we give freedom to the counter-revolutionaries to make propaganda. As for political rumors and hearsay, we must not only refuse to believe and spread them, but should also refute them and investigate their origin. Freedom of speech applies only within the ranks of the people. Within the ranks of the people, different opinions can be raised, but when people make mistakes, ideological work should also be done and criticism and education be conducted. We should resolutely block all channels of circulation for counter-revolutionary propaganda and rumors, and strengthen the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere.

Chairman Mao once pointed out: "Bad things can be turned into good things. Disorder has a dual character." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square was a bad thing, but it was also a good thing. Through this struggle, a handful of class enemies were exposed, the worker-militia, the people's police and the army guards were tempered in class struggle, and the broad masses and cadres received a profound education in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and inspiration of the two resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulse the Right deviationist attempt and ferret out counter-revolutionaries is gaining momentum and the revolutionary atmosphere of united struggle prevails throughout the country. Constant, new achievements have been scored in grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that whenever we break through resistance on our road of advance and overcome the interference and sabotage by the reactionary forces, our revolutionary cause will make big advances.

We have already won great victories, but class struggle is not over. The defeated classes will still resort to every means to carry on a death-bed struggle. The task before the whole Party, the whole army, and people throughout the country is to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, persistently take class struggle as the key link, and firmly grasp the general orientation of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. We must advance from victory to victory along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and carry the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end.

* * *

Fight for the Consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

the Capital Worker-Militia General Command

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

What unforgettable days in early April were! Under the close solicitude and leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and the direct command of the Peking Municipal Party and Revolutionary Committees, we worker-militiamen in the capital fighting in close coordination with the people's police and army guards, crushed the counter-revolutionary political adverse current that appeared at Tienanmen Square with one single blow. The victory of this struggle and the publication of the Party Central Committee's two wise resolutions have dealt heavy blows to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and to the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. They fully express the desire of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. Looking at today's Tienanmen Square which appears particularly magnificent after it was tested in battle and recalling the breath-taking class struggle which took place here not long ago fill us with more confidence and determination to fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1973, when the urban militiamen throughout the country studied Shanghai's experience in militia building, our Capital Worker-Militia General Command was born gloriously. For the past 2 years and more, under the Party's centralized leadership, we have led the masses of worker-militiamen to take an active part in class struggle in society, dealing relentless blows at the sabotage activities by a handful of class enemies, strengthening public order and protecting the safety of people in the capital. We have won warm support and approbation from the masses of people. The participation of the worker-militia in class struggle in society is determined by the Party's basic line; it is a new thing born of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an important measure for the working class to transform, build and protect cities. It is also the only way to transform and build up militia contingents. Only by tempering themselves in class struggle can militiamen have strong fighting power and vigorous vitality.

The great struggle--personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao--to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has effectively raised the consciousness of militiamen in class and line struggles. By conscientiously studying a series of Chairman Mao's important instructions and scathingly criticizing the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, the masses of militiamen have enhanced their understanding of the character, object, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao points out incisively: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticize bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the

bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This instruction of Chairman Mao's tells us that the object of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie and the main target is the capitalist roaders in the Party. The unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. While participating in class struggle in society, we militiamen must not only strike at the sabotage activities of class enemies in society at large, but, what is more important, we must be good at struggling against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. It should be noted that a handful of class enemies in society and the capitalist roaders in the Party have the same desire for restoration and the same class interests, with the former being part of the social basis for the latter and the latter being the former's political representatives. If we see only the sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies in society but fail to see the deception and danger of the capitalist roaders in the Party, we still cannot fight with full consciousness for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square is a vivid manifestation of the capitalist roaders still being on the capitalist road. Why did a handful of rioters have such unified counter-revolutionary views and the same target of attack? Why was their reactionary arrogance so unbridled? It was because they had a behind-the-scenes boss, the support of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. With such support, they thought that "the situation has now gotten out of hand, and it would be of no use even if a regiment or an army was called in." Blinded by their desire for gain and frantic in the extreme, they miscalculated the situation. They smashed cars, burned houses, beat up people and committed crimes. They even went so far as to threaten bringing down the five-star Red Flag flying over Tienanmen Square. The objective effect of all these counter-revolutionary acts is to paint a portrait of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and strip off his mask. What is class struggle? Liu Shao-ch'i taught us a lesson in this regard, and so did Lin Piao later. Now Teng Hsiao-p'ing has once again given us a lesson. The lessons given by these teachers by negative example have enabled us to further realize that the bourgeoisie will never be reconciled to their defeat. As Lenin said, "The overthrown exploiters did not expect their overthrow. They did not believe it, nor would they think of it. After their first serious defeat, they plunged into the fight with effort and frenzied zeal increased ten-fold as well as a hundredfold hatred." ("Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 640.) The appearance of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square was by no means accidental. The socialist revolution deepened further with the destruction of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The fact that we wanted to beat back the Right deviationist wind, criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, criticize bourgeois rights and restrict the economic basis engendering revisionism greatly demoralized the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, especially the unrepentant capitalist roaders. That is why they instigated a bunch of rioters to launch a frenzied counter-attack. This also shows that class struggle has not died out but is still very acute. The theory of the dying out of class

struggle advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is actually a smoke bomb for a frenzied attack against the proletariat, with the object of changing the Party's basic line, bringing down the national flag reddened with the blood of millions upon millions of revolutionary martyrs, making the heads of millions upon millions of Communists upholding Chairman Mao's revolutionary line roll and causing the hundreds of millions of workers and peasants to relive the life of slaves worse than that of beasts of burden!

This counter-revolutionary political incident was staged in a completely premeditated, organized, and planned manner. There were some indications worth noting before the incident took place. In March, we already perceived that there were more political rumors in society and, like those political rumors spread last July, August and September, they were designed to attack and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. By late March and early April, some people deliberately let it be known that "there will certainly be some excitement around the Ch'ing Ming Festival." These activities told us that a serious class struggle was forthcoming. The tactics resorted to by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party in creating the counter-revolutionary incident were extremely despicable. Under the guise of commemorating the late Premier Chou during the Ch'ing Ming Festival, they gathered together at Tienanmen Square to perpetrate counter-revolutionary deeds, and used the occasion to deceive and instigate some people who were ignorant of the truth. Once they arrived at the Square, they made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary slogans and poems, and distributed reactionary leaflets. Then, they began to do evil things, beating up people and setting fire. This angered the broad revolutionary masses, who at once saw through their true features. What a handful of counter-revolutionary elements did at Tienanmen Square fully revealed that their commemoration of the late Premier Chou was false and their protection of Teng Hsiao-p'ing was real. Didn't Teng declare that he wanted to rig up a "home-going contingent"? This handful of counter-revolutionary rioters were a group of fighters in Teng's "home-going contingent." Driven by their own class nature, they had to jump out to perform or else they would be ill at ease. The higher they jumped and the more energetically they performed, the more conditions they prepared for their own downfall and the downfall of their boss Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

As far as Teng Hsiao-p'ing is concerned, this struggle is a shameful record of an abortive counter-revolutionary riot; as far as we militiamen in the capital are concerned, it is a successful war exercise and a severe battle test. From commander to fighter, none of us had any experience of fighting with a large army corps, but we all shared a common conviction: we must protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and the great capital of our socialist motherland. The common conviction gave us common strength. Although many comrades did not eat anything in 24 hours, and some even did not sleep at all for several days and nights on end, none complained or felt tired. We held our heads high, demonstrating the heroic spirit of fearing no sacrifices and fatigue and daring to fight continuously, a spirit characteristic of the working class. We learned to fight through fighting. On a series of questions such as how to move and deploy forces, how to safeguard vantage points, how to break through, how to defend and attack and how to occupy a position, we had to decide not according to subjective imagination but in accordance with actual conditions on the scene. These several days of

fighting meant much more to us than several years in terms of education and training. For the battle we fought was a tough one, a big battle with the bourgeoisie in the Party and a handful of class enemies in society. This was a rare, excellent opportunity for us to temper ourselves!

The masses of militia commanders and fighters who took part in this battle displayed loyalty to our great leader Chairman Mao. They consciously realized that it was their glorious duty to fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Many of them were little Red Guards ten years ago, and they could never forget the happy moment when Chairman Mao reviewed them at Tienanmen Square, a moment which has become a motive force inspiring them to advance steadily. On the morning of April 5, during the struggle to protect the Great Hall of the People, the militiamen of the Peking No. 1 Machine Tools Plant and the Peking Gear Plant marched in the fore. Chang Te-lun, a lead man in the array, was among those ten years ago wearing Red Guard armbands who happily saw Chairman Mao on the reviewing stand. Now, standing in the forefront of struggle, on the one hand, he conducted propaganda among the onlookers and the masses who had been taken in; on the other he engaged the ferocious bad elements in a repartee. When he saw several wicked elements beating a militiaman, he charged forward to protect his comrade-in-arms and condemn the enemies for their atrocity. Instantly, a group of bad elements surrounded and struck him with their fists. Seriously wounded and his head badly mauled, he nevertheless showed no fear and shouted the slogan "Fight to the end for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." When Comrade Liu Chin-lung of the Chaoyang District Militia Command, carrying a semi-conductor loudspeaker and directing the battle at the scene, saw that Comrade Chang Te-lun fell into the enemies' hands, a strong sense of class feeling welled up in him. Ignoring his wound inflicted by a handful of hooligans, he dragged Chang out of the mob and escorted him to hospital. Upon arrival at the hospital, he himself also fainted on a sick bed. When he came to, his first thought turned to the safety of his class brothers defending the front positions at the Great Hall of the People, and he wanted to go back to direct the fighting. Look! When we have such valiant fighters and commanders, is there any enemy we cannot defeat?

On April 5, the entire struggle reached its high point. At the Square, the sly enemies hid themselves among the onlookers and the duped masses. In order to strictly differentiate and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, from beginning to end, we patiently persuaded and enlightened the duped masses and the onlookers, explaining to them the nature and truth of the counter-revolutionary activities and asking them to leave the Square. For those bad elements intent on making trouble, we adhered to the method of striking only after they had struck. Facts have shown that the policy we carried out is correct and effective. Guided by Party policies, the struggle was carried out in such a way that it confused the enemies and educated the masses. After Comrade Wu Te's speech was broadcast, most of the onlookers and the masses who had been taken in began to leave the Square, and only a handful of extremely isolated bad elements were left behind. When the Municipal Revolutionary Committee ordered us to

counter-attack the handful of enemies, tens of thousands of militiamen marched into the Square and, with the force of the autumn wind sweeping the fallen leaves, promptly rounded up this bunch of counter-revolutionaries. They were like a drove of flies smashing against the wall and could do nothing but moan and weep.

In this battle, every move was taken and every disposition was made by us under the unified command of the Party. Without the close solicitude and wise decisions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and without the direct leadership of the Municipal Party Committee, it would have been impossible to win such a great victory. The militia forces of many units were organized, led and commanded at the front personally by the responsible comrades of their Party committees. The masses of militiamen, tempered in class struggle in society over the past two years and more, can be speedily sent for; they can fight when they are sent for and win when they fight. The moment they heard forces had to be sent to Tienanmen Square to carry out duties, they moved quickly. Some did not have the time to change their work clothes, and some immediately put down their rice bowls which they had just picked up. Disregarding their fatigue after a day's hard work, they rushed to the Square and plunged into battle. Although we also did some work, all work from ordering the mobilization and deployment to commanding at the scene to providing logistic support was done under the support of Party committees at various levels. Without the serious attention given by the Party committees at various levels, it would have been impossible to mobilize and assemble several tens of thousands of men at a such high speed. The victory of this struggle should be attributed to Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, to the Party committees at all levels and to the vast revolutionary masses. We profoundly felt that behind the several tens of thousands of militiamen joining the battle were 800 million people led by the Party and Chairman Mao. Even though those ferocious hooligans were backed by such a capitalist roader as Teng Hsiao-p'ing and supported by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, they were still a tiny minority, extremely isolated and weak. When we reminded ourselves that Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee were constantly concerned about us, the people of the whole country were behind us, truth was on our side and we were in an absolutely favorable position, we were filled with confidence in the inevitable victory of our struggle.

The victory of this struggle is a song of triumph for the unity in fighting between us and the public security organ and garrison units. Under the unified leadership of the Municipal Party Committee, we formed a single fighting entity. In the course of the violent struggle against the enemies, there were many moving scenes of the people's police and army guards shielding the militiamen with their bodies, and the militiamen risking their lives to protect the people's police and the army guards. When the barracks were besieged, Comrade Chi Jung-i, deputy militia political instructor of the Peking Silk Embroidery Plant and a Communist, saw that a hooligan carrying a steel bar more than two feet long was about to strike at an army guard. At this critical moment, he dashed forward and grabbed the bar, thus saving the army guard's life, but he himself was assaulted by the hooligan and seriously injured. In the struggle, women militia fighters also displayed great courage. When a group of hooligans were beating a

people's policeman to the southwest of the Monument to the People's Heroes, Yang Min-chü, a militiawoman on duty there, was so angry that she and her comrade-in-arms Wang P'ei-ch'in immediately dashed to the rescue of that people's policeman at the risk of their own lives. Amid the crowds, she lost her shoes and her feet were trampled on and became swollen. Her clothes, hands and face were covered with blood. However, defiantly and persistently she fought for several hours and, together with other comrades, finally rescued that people's policeman. Later, she recalled: "Though it was a very dangerous moment, none of us thought of ourselves. We thought only of the safety of the people's police and the PLA men, and they thought of our safety." Moving deeds like this could be found throughout the struggle. Fighting shoulder to shoulder, the people's police and army guards formed with us militiamen a profound class friendship with our blood. In future struggles, we must continue to display such a spirit of unity, friendship and love and forever fight in close coordination and unity.

The victory of this struggle full proves that Chairman Mao's instruction "organize militia divisions in a big way" is wise and correct, and it also vividly demonstrates the great might of the militia armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. It is precisely because the worker-militia's participation in class struggle in society plays a very important role in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat that Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, did his utmost to block and undermine the building of the worker-militia. When the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was raging last year, he wanted the militia units of all enterprises to be "disbanded without exception" in the name of "adjusting enterprise management." Teng Hsiao-p'ing was opposed to arming the industrial workers and to the worker-militia's participation in class struggle in society. This shows his boundless fear of and utmost animosity toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. What the bourgeoisie opposes the proletariat must support. We must step up our effort to improve the militia building in the capital and in the course of practical work make new contributions to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The struggle at Tienanmen Square ended with the enemy's crushing defeat and our victory. At present, we must see not only the victory after the struggle but also the struggle after the victory. We must maintain revolutionary vigilance at all times, pay close heed to the new trends of class struggle, and guard against sabotage by class enemies. We must fight wherever enemies spring up. Together with the people of the whole country, we must focus our criticism on Teng, carry the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end, and win still greater victories!

* * *

Use Revolutionary Public Opinion to Crush Counter-Revolutionary Public Opinion

by

Liang Hsiao (梁效)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country are now deepening the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and indignantly denouncing Teng's crimes to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. They are tracking down counter-revolutionary activities in a deep-going way. The great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is breaking through resistance with the irresistible force of an avalanche and surging ahead from victory to victory. The situation is excellent, and people are in high spirits.

Reviewing the fighting course of beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and analyzing the recent counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square has made us deeply aware that it is a matter of vital significance for the proletariat to use Marxism to firmly occupy the position of public opinion in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao points out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." This is an objective law of class struggle. Revolutionary public opinion is an important weapon for the proletariat to seize political power and consolidate it, while counter-revoutionary public opinion is an important weapon for the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout the historical period of socialism, there is always an acute struggle between two kinds of public opinion, which is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. In order to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, the bourgeoisie, particularly power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road, invariably make frantic efforts to seize the position of public opinion. They cook up all sorts of revisionist absurdities, trumpet various reactionary trends of thought, put forward counter-revolutionary slogans to confuse the minds of people, and fabricate sensational political rumors in order to summon winds and waves to create a "climate" suitable for carrying out counter-revolutionary restorationist activities. The proletariat, in order to completely overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie, must give serious heed to revolutionary public opinion, to education on the line and to class struggle in the ideological sphere. It must vigorously propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, penetratingly criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism, promptly expose those counter-revolutionary rumors dished out from dark corners, use revolutionary public opinion to prevail over and overwhelm counter-revolutionary public opinion, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party, led the way in stirring up the Right deviationist wind first by creating counter-revolutionary public opinion on a large scale. The moment he regained some power, he dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and frenziedly launched a counter-attack in revenge against the proletariat. Under his instigation, a few unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the fields of education and science and technology as well as in certain departments jumped out together to make speeches everywhere and spread poison wilfully. They disseminated a great number of absurd arguments negating the Party's basic line, the great cultural revolution and the new socialist things. Moreover, he instigated some people to write letters of false accusations, draw up "an outline of summary report," and make preparations to publish a periodical to advocate his line and concoct anti-Marxist articles. All of this was designed to pave the way for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. In preparing that article "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation" on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's order, they gleefully declared: "After the article is published, it will be like a punch." This "punch" is counter-revolutionary public opinion, and the target is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, it was also this "punch" they first gave. Many vicious counter-revolutionary slogans were identical to the language used in the article "General Program." Directed by a sinister hand, a tiny band of class enemies posted reactionary poems, distributed reactionary leaflets, made reactionary speeches, and wildly shouted reactionary slogans. Openly hoisting the ensign of support for Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they shouted themselves hoarse for restoring capitalism and feverishly perpetrated counter-revolutionary instigations. Immediately following this, they gave the other "punch" -- counter-revoutionary violence: burning cars and buildings, wielding daggers and other weapons, beating up the worker-militiamen, people's police, PLA armymen and revolutionary masses. It is clear that creating counter-revolutionary public opinion on a large scale by the bourgeoisie is precisely the overture of their counter-revolutionary violence. However, they didn't succeed with these two "punches." Faced with the powerful revolutionary public opinion, they went under and instantly disintegrated under the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fabricating counter-revolutionary political rumors to viciously attack the great leader Chairman Mao in a vain attempt to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao -- this is an important characteristic of the current frantic counter-offensive launched by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, a trend of class struggle that should arouse our attention. In the three months of July, August and September last year, when the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was blowing violently, rumors spread everywhere in society. In the spring this year, when the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind was victoriously developing in depth, and victories were being won at every turn, a large quantity of counter-revoutionary political rumors again gushed out like dirty water from a ditch. A handful of class enemies even went so far as to forge "Chairman Mao's directives," "documents of the Party Central Committee," "the Premier's will," "speeches by central leaders," etc., in an attempt to make use of the lofty prestige of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee among people of the whole country to peddle

their reactionary merchandise. This is a most insidious counter-revolutionary strategy. The content of these political rumors could not be more reactionary, the language could not be more vicious, the allegations could not be more strange, and the means used could not be more despicable!

Why did the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party and a handful of counter-revolutionaries use the means of creating rumors to frantically attack the proletariat? This is decided by their reactionary and moribund class nature. Lenin said: "Once its influence on the workers fails, goes bankrupt or weakens, the bourgeoisie always uses or is prepared to use the most frenzied means of creating rumors and slanders everywhere." ("Methods Used by Bourgeois Intellectuals to Oppose the Workers," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 20, p. 490) The bourgeoisie is a decadent, declining and moribund class. Historical experience indicates that all reactionary, declining classes in ancient and modern times and at home and abroad, when they were at the end of the rope and carried out a death-bed struggle, invariably used the tricks of fabricating rumors and slanders. All, from Confucius and Mencius to Chiang Kai-shek, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, from Hitler and Goebbels to Khrushchev and Brezhnev, were counter-revolutionary "rumor-mongering experts." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the unrepentant capitalist roader in our Party, is no exception. Since they do not have the truth and the support from the masses, they are very weak, and apart from creating rumors and slanders, they have no other weapon to fight it out with the proletariat. Chairman Mao points out: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." The vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, namely, people who account for over 95 percent of the population, all want revolution. Their fundamental demand is to take the socialist road, and the great proletarian cultural revolution represents their fundamental interests. In practicing revisionism and reversing the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing goes against the objective law of historical development and the fundamental interests of the broad revolutionary masses, placing himself entirely on the opposite side of the masses and making himself extremely isolated. To cheat the masses, the class enemies can only depend on rumor-mongering and act stealthily and clandestinely or else they cannot survive.

For the bourgeoisie to resort to rumor-mongering is also decided by their reactionary world outlook of subjective idealism. In their eyes, neither objective truth nor object facts exist at all. Facts can be fabricated at will, and a rumor, repeated a thousand times, becomes a fact. Truth, too, can be invented at will, and everything that is useful to them is truth. Hitler once shamelessly declared: "When the lie is big, it has more or less something people would believe, because people can be deceived by a big lie more easily than a small lie.... They can never imagine that there are lies of such magnitude. They would not believe that there can be such a big hoax which shameless distorts facts out of all proportions in the world. Even if the hoax is punctured, they would still suspect and hesitate, feeling that at least there cannot he waves without wind." What a remarkable statement. It fully reveals the decadent and dark inner world of rumor-mongers! The renegade and traitor Lin Piao also wrote in his sinister notebook: "Telling towering lies to save face, concealing what is evil and publicizing what is good, distorting and exaggerating facts,

denying what has been done, creating something out of the void, forging, being evasive, and maintaining the 3:7 ratio between truth and falsehood--such is the case with every state, class and individual." It is truly an eye-opener to read the confessions of these bourgeois careerists and conspirators! Imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries without exception act in accordance with this decadent and declining reactionary philosophy of the bourgeoisie. When starting an aggressive war or carrying out armed subversion, both imperialism and social-imperialism always use rumors to make an excuse. Likewise, the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the Party and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society often use rumors to create public opinion in carrying out counter-revolutionary restorationist activities. From the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts first whipped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and from the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, we again saw the ugly performance of the bourgeois rumor-mongering philosophy. The rumors they created are indeed "towering lies," a "big hoax which shamelessly distorts facts out of all proportions." This has given us a most profound lesson on class struggle by negative example and made us discern more clearly the reactionary, decadent and frantic nature of the bourgeoisie within the Party. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, they can use any means, however despicable, and resort to any deal, however insidious. But this does not indicate their strength but, on the contrary, exposes their extreme frailty. Their moral destruction is bound to lead to political doom.

A vicious method used by the unrepentant capitalist roaders within the Party and a handful of counter-revolutionaries to create rumors is to strive to obliterate the class content and class essence of the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. They distort the life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines as a sectarian struggle for power and gain in a vain attempt to confuse the class alignments and change the general orientation of the criticism of Teng and the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind. In criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao pointed out: They "either fabricate rumors out of thin air and tell barefaced lies or grasp some superficial phenomena to attack the essence of the matter or extol some people to attack others or seize on some pretexts to make a 'break-through at a certain point' to put us in difficulty." ("Introductory Notes to 'Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique'") These are precisely the tricks habitually used by class enemies. Didn't Lin Piao and company distort the struggle between the two lines within the Party as a struggle between "this section of people" and "that section of people"? There are parties outside the Party and factions within the Party--this has always been the case. Every political faction has its clear-cut class nature. Communists who implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line represent the interests of the proletariat and the working people, while the capitalist roaders within the Party represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. "This section of people" and "that section of people" do not exist in the abstract apart from given classes. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who practiced revisionism and wanted to restore capitalism, is the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Isn't it clear that his problem is one of contradiction not with "a section of people" but with the whole Party, the proletariat and the working people? When we observe the inner-Party

struggle, we must never be taken in by the theory of the dying out of class struggle vigorously advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing or else we will not be able to see through the class enemies' intrigues and conspiracies or may even become prisoners of bourgeois reactionary ideology. Lenin said: "People always were and always will be the stupid victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political phrases, declarations and promises." ("The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 446.) We must continue to sum up the experience of class struggle, grasp the laws of class struggle, and master the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle in studying and handling problems. Ideas, slogans, hearsay and so forth prevailing in society must be subject to class analyses to see what they oppose, what they support, what they demand, which class whose interests they represent, and which political line they serve. Only thus can we fully understand the nature of the current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, explode all insidious tricks used by class enemies for their futile attempt to confuse the class alignments, and win the initiative in class struggle.

In order to break the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party against the socialist revolution and in order to thoroughly criticize the unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing ideologically and politically and smash all sorts of counter-revolutionary public opinion created by him, we must make full use of all propaganda media and forms of public opinion to create revolutionary public opinion on a large scale and give widespread publicity to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to the various principles and policies of the Party Central Committee. At present, it is necessary to pay special attention to propagating a series of important directives issued by Chairman Mao on beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, so that the broad masses can clearly understand that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, recognize the nature, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution, raise their awareness of class struggle fundamentally, and enhance their ability to discern and combat various reactionary trends of thought and political rumors. This is precisely what class enemies fear the most. In his "Outline of 'Project 571'" Lin Piao venomously denounced the so-called "pen," and a handful of class enemies in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square venomously abused the so-called "Hsiu Ts'ai" (scholars). In both cases the aim was to oppose the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought among the masses of people, and to direct the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him. This is by no means a coincidence, for it reflects the common mentality of the capitalist roaders in the Party and a handful of class enemies: they are as afraid of the spread of Marxist truth as bats are afraid of sunlight. This is because once the masses grasp Marxist truth, they will be unmasked, deprived of a market for all their counter-revolutionary public opinion and counter-revolutionary rumors, and completely isolated.

Unfolding mass revolutionary criticism in a penetrating and sustained way is an effective means of crushing counter-revolutionary public opinion. The fact that political rumors could hoodwink a small number of

people within a certain time had something to do with the deceptive nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. In dishing up his revisionist program, Teng used the means of distorting and tampering with Chairman Mao's directives; in preaching the reactionary theory of productive forces, he hoisted the signboard of accelerating "four modernizations;" in pulling back the wheel of history in the fields of education and science and technology, he shouted the slogan "be concerned with the quality of education" and "improve science and technology." If we are to enable the masses to see the essence through the appearance, we must strip off his cloak and deeply criticize and totally disinfect his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and the various absurd revisionist arguments he spread in the fields of education, science and technology, literature and art, public health and sports. The reactionary speeches and slogans tossed out by a handful of class enemies in the recent counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square thoroughly exposed Teng's reactionary features, and constitute valuable teaching materials by negative example. In criticizing the counter-revolutionary conspirator Bakunin, Marx and Engels pointed out: "There is only one way, and a way of destructive force at that, to counter all such intrigues and conspiracies--to make them public. To expose these intrigues and conspiracies thoroughly from head to toe is to deprive them of any strength." ("The Socialist-Democratic League and the International Working Men's Association," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 18, p. 372) By grasping the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square and fully exposing the various intrigues and conspiracies of a handful of class enemies to the sunlight, we can not only make the class enemies' counter-revolutionary political rumors and counter-revolutionary agitation completely bankrupt, but also enable the masses to see more clearly the reactionary substance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

Chairman Mao points out: "A line and a viewpoint must be talked about constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only a few; they must be made known to the broad revolutionary masses." Only by extensively mobilizing the masses will it be possible to give full play to the might of revolutionary public opinion, to use Marxism to dominate all positions of public opinion, and to sweep the debris of exploiting-class ideology from all corners. The mass movement to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and Chairman Mao's writings and the worker-peasant-soldier sparetime theoretical groups and theoretical discussion meetings, evening political schools, criticism meetings, big-character posters, parades and demonstrations, mass rallies, mass poem contests, mass performances of model revolutionary theatrical works, mass political and ideological work--all these are effective forms for mobilizing the masses to create revolutionary public opinion on a large scale. The capitalist roaders within the Party and a handful of class enemies are extremely hostile to and are most frightened by the mobilization of the masses to create revolutionary public opinion on a large scale, and recklessly sabotage and venomously attack it in all possible ways. The broad masses have resolutely rebuffed such sabotage and attack. An old woman in her seventies in Hsiaochinchuang brigade wrote a poem which read: "The capitalist roaders within the Party who engage in restoration attack us for singing songs from model revolutionary theatrical plays. But the more they hate us, the more we will sing these songs until Red Flags fly over the five continents and the four seas." These simple and plain words vividly express the poor and lower-middle

peasants' strong determination to fight the class enemies with revolutionary public opinion and show that the vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers profoundly understand the great significance of vigorously creating revolutionary public opinion. Facts prove that in areas and units where immense importance is attached to revolutionary public opinion and the masses are mobilized to vigorously create revolutionary public opinion, the righteous proletarian spirit soars swiftly and the evil bourgeois wind and atmosphere are quickly subdued, and a prosperous scene prevails in both revolution and production. On the other hand, if revolutionary public opinion is slighted and the masses are not mobilized to vigorously create revolutionary public opinion, the evil wind and atmosphere will grow, all sorts of political rumors and hearsay will spread freely, and a handful of class enemies will take the opportunity to make trouble, causing losses to both revolution and production.

Chairman Mao has taught us that "violent storms and waves are not to be feared. The human society is developed amid violent storms and waves." ("Speech at the CCP National Propaganda Work Conference") Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is invincible, and none of those who engage in conspiracies and plots and who live on rumor-mongering will have a good end. When perpetrating crimes at Tienanmen Square, didn't the handful of counter-revolutionary hooligans go wild with joy and shamelessly describe their counter-revolutionary outburst as a "clap of thunder" and their small counter-revolutionary detechment "torrents"? Didn't the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and Taiwan's Chiang Ching-kuo and his ilk gleefully applaud this handful of ugly froth? But they rejoiced too soon. When the CCP Central Committee's resolutions appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng first vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council and stripping Teng Hsiao-p'ing of all posts both inside and outside the Party and the report on the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square were broadcast and carried in newspapers, millions upon millions of armymen and people across the country immediately went into action, warmly hailed these two resolutions, indignantly denounced the crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in attempting to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism, and hit hard at the sabotage activities of a handful of counter-revolutionaries. Such are the torrents of revolutionary advance. Such is a clap of thunder which shakes the mountains and rivers. The strong revolutionary east wind has completely swept away the foul atmosphere created by a handful of counter-revolutionary elements at Tienanmen Square. The Square has become more majestic and splendid. The song of victory reverberates south and north of the Yangtze and inside and outside the Great Wall. A new upsurge is now appearing in the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. Let us closely rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and advance from victories to still greater victories along the revolutionary lane charted by Chairman Mao!

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Teng Hsiao-p'ing Is the Chief Culprit of the Tienanmen Square Incident

by

Hung Kuang-ssu (洪广思)

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At the crucial time that the entire Party, Army and people throughout the country were victoriously developing the struggle to repulse the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, a small group of class enemies unexpectedly contravened the right principles, caused unrest and stirred up trouble in Tienanmen Square which is cherished by all people of the nation. They initiated counter-revolutionary disturbances and aimed the spearhead at Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Counter-revolution is always short lived. The fascist hooligans rampaged for a moment, then were quickly suppressed by the mailed fist of the masses of the people and the dictatorship of the proletariat, their counter-revolutionary plot completely bankrupted. This is the great victory of the proletariat's blow against the bourgeois attack, the great victory of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary, revisionist line.

This counter-revolutionary political incident was completely instigated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and is the inevitable product of his promoting the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, since the beginning, has been an old capitalist roader who has opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for a long time. During the cultural revolution, when he was exposed and criticized by the broad revolutionary masses, orally he guaranteed "never to reverse verdicts," but in actuality could not be trusted. After he returned to work, basically unchanged, he became more frantic in fostering revisionism. He concocted the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in opposition to class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line as brought out by Chairman Mao, and he plotted to change the country's socialist orientation and restore capitalism all around. He loudly advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, vainly tried to cancel the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and incited the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a small group of class enemies to launch an unrestrained attack on the Party and socialism. He reversed the verdicts of the cultural revolution, settled accounts with it, denied by a stroke recognition to the great contributions of the proletarian cultural revolution, the criticize Lin and Confucius /movement/ and /the movement/ to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He attempted to fully restore the stuff of revisionism and capitalism already criticized and to completely chop down new socialist things. He also created and disseminated many highly poisonous political rumors, inciting demons and monsters to attack the Party. The bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, seeing Teng Hsiao-p'ing so fanatically working for restoration and regression, could not help feeling elated and danced for joy. They regarded Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the hope of restoration, someone to rely on in changing the regime while Teng Hsiao-p'ing regarded them as the social foundation and a reliable force for usurping the Party's power.

Thinking back to July, August and September of last year, it certainly was not an ordinary time. Those restoration "heroes" were so imposing! Gathered under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's black banner, they all manifested their skill in restorationist matters. The muddy waters of Right-deviationist effort to reverse verdicts rolled over education, science and technology, literature and arts, health and other realms. In order to attain their goal of reversing verdicts, they created political rumors, wrote false accusations, concocted counter-revolutionary articles, and resorted to every foul means. Unreformed landlord, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society also mobilized for action and the perversities of capitalism were widely talked about. At that time, it was really somewhat like the situation in the spring of 1957 when the bourgeois Rightists attempted to turn everything upside down. It is absolutely clear that it was Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pushed which incited this frantic attack by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and class enemies and prepared the groundwork ideologically, in the field of public opinion and organizationally for this Tienanmen Square incident, which was no less than a vicious development of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Our great leader Chairman Mao, farsightedly and with complete insight, personally launched and led the great struggle to repulse the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This is the continuation and deepening of the great proletarian cultural revolution and is another test of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The whole Party, the whole army and people throughout the nation ardently rise in support of Chairman Mao's summons to penetratingly expose and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and reactionary crimes. Accompanying the penetrating development of this struggle, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has further penetrated into people's hearts, the victorious result of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been consolidated, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party represented by him suffered heavy blows. The day the broad masses of people sing is the moment of agony for the reactionary class. "All reactionary forces always struggle most desperately when they are about to perish." The bourgeosie inside and outside the Party and class enemies regard with extreme hostility and extreme fear the struggle developing in opposition to the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's restorationist crimes. They sense that their dreams of restoration already have been smashed and their last day already has arrived, but they are unwilling to admit defeat. We want to criticize Teng; they want to protect Teng, do their utmost to air grievances in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's behalf, absolve him of criminal responsibility and carry out insane reprisals. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attitude is even worse. He pretends to be deaf and dumb, stubbornly maintains his reactionary position and resists the Party and masses' penetrating criticism of him. It is very evident that this is an important continuing challenge, by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party which he represents, against the proletariat, and an even more acute and fierce struggle to the bitter end cannot be avoided. Exactly as expected, a small gang of class enemies jumped out of the ground without waiting, openly brought out the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing and caused a premeditated, planned and organized counter-revolutionary political incident in Tienanmen Square.

From the wild outbursts and reactionary acts of a small bunch of gangsters at Tienanmen Square, it is possible to see the reactionary role Teng Hsiao-p'ing played in this incident. These counter-revolutionary elements, having deepseated hatred against the proletariat and revolutionary people, used all the dirty and evil words of reactionary classes to attack the great leader Chairman Mao, divide the Party Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, curse Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and slander the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the sinister words that Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party said or wanted to say came spurting out of their big mouths. Their prevailing thirst for blood, beatings of workers militia, people's police and army guards, burning of cars and buildings, storming the Great Hall of the People, all manifested the counter-revolutionary spirit of the "home-going contingent" extolled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The reactionary role which Teng Hsiao-p'ing played in this incident can be seen most clearly from the praise and flattery lavished on him by the gang of hooligans and its extreme hostility to the repulsion of the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. They blatantly clamored for "letting Teng Hsiao-p'ing take charge of the work of the Central Committee" and maliciously attacked the repulsion of the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts as "the movement of a small group of people with ambition to reverse verdicts." Isn't this kind of natural relationship between Teng Hsiao-p'ing and class enemies completely clear? The counter-revolutionary elements precisely wanted to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as China's Nagy and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in turn, wanted to commit his hopes of restoration to counter-revolutionary riots such as the Tienanmen Square incident.

By thoroughly analyzing the relationship between Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and the Tienanmen Square incident, the class struggle situation since the repulsion of the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and the counter-revolutionary activities of a small group of class enemies, we can arrive at a clearly understandable conclusion: Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the chief culprit of this counter-revolutionary incident. The objective laws of the present two-class, two-road and two-line struggle have determined that Teng Hsiao-p'ing acts as the chief power behind the counter-revolutionary incident and that the counter-revolutionary elements need Teng Hsiao-p'ing to become their chief.

As for the onset of any political incident, people always follow their own class position and world outlook in seeking all sorts of reasons and come up with their own explanations. However, if the truth of a situation is to be really understood, one must use the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and methods of class analysis to discover the laws of the situation from the situation itself and its internal linkage with its surroundings. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold, and once we cross the threshold, we must grasp the essence of the thing; this is the only reliable and scientific method of analysis." ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire") The basic cause of the counter-revolutionary Tienanmen Square political incident is Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line which he promotes. This is the essence of the problem. If Marxist scientific methods are abandoned, problems are not understood from the objective law of the development of things, and principal and secondary, essential and non-essential aspects of the

incident are not clearly differentiated, there will then be confusion caused by the appearance and even a loss of direction and will lead to adopting an erroneous position.

Seen from the historical experience of international and domestic class struggle, the appearance of a revisionist line always brings about a series of major undesirable consequences. In 1956, at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress Khrushchev raised a revisionist line opposing Leninism, negating the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring the capitalist system. Immediately an anti-communist, anti-people adverse current appeared on a world-wide scale, the most frightening being the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident. Khrushchev was the chief leader of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident. In our country, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production had been basically completed, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, echoing Khrushchev, wholeheartedly shouted the theory of the dying out of class struggle, wildly said "class contradictions basically have been resolved," and considered that less should be done about the dictatorship of the proletariat and more should be done about bourgeois freedom and democracy. This incited bourgeois Rightists to launch insane attacks on the Party and socialism. Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in reality are the backroom bosses of the bourgeoisie. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a reactionary organization appeared which pointed its spearhead at the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao at its head and which "beat, smashed and looted" and whose origin could be traced to the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Lin Piao. These facts show that to practice revisionism is to encourage and support counter-revolution. As soon as the black banner of revisionism is raised, some counter-revolutionaries, resembling flies drawn to an odor, will gather around it and their "generals" and "marshals" will come out to plan and command counter-revolutionary schemes and activities. This is an historical phenomenon of universal character.

The proletariat will vanquish the bourgeoisie, socialism will vanquish capitalism; this is the inalterable general trend of historical development. Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the counter-revolutionary political incident and attempted to prevent the revolutionary torrent from rolling forward. This clearly indicates that he is a reactionary going against the historical tide. The revolutionary people who make up over 95 percent of the population have during their long struggle intensely understood: without Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, there would have been no way to stand up, be liberated and become the masters of the country. Therefore, they resolutely follow the socialist road, back Chairman Mao's revolutionary line sincerely and commit themselves to carrying the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. They detest the old society's exploitative system of man eat man and they will never tolerate restoration of capitalism in China or class enemies' destructive disturbances. They deeply understand that if things go according to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and according to the desires of a small group of counter-revolutionaries, before long they will be deprived completely of all the great achievements of the socialist revolution as well as the great achievements of the democratic revolution. The bourgeoisie and the

landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists are just a minority. Teng Hsiao-p'ing representing their interests, working to restore and regress, and carrying out counter-revolutionary schemes, does not have the support of the people and is extremely isolated. This inevitably causes him humiliating defeat and indignant criticism and condemnation by the whole Party, the whole army, and people throughout the country.

Revolution is developing, struggle is continuing. Class enemies will never be reconciled to their defeat. We certainly must resolutely grasp the key link of class struggle, maintain the Party's basic line, conscientiously study Chairman Mao's series of important directives, firmly grasp the broad direction of struggle, concentrate firepower on criticizing Teng, expose his counter-revolutionary revisionist line penetratingly, thoroughly, completely and sternly. We must track down the behind-the-scenes planners, commanders and creators of political rumors of the Tienanmen Square incident, resolutely attack all destructive activities of class enemies, develop the excellent situation and wrest new victories in repelling the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We have the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, the powerful and consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary people who have gone through the steeling of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the criticize-Lin-criticize-Confucious movement. All class enemies' schemes and conspiracies will be completely smashed!

* * *

The Class Enemies Are Weak and Isolated

by

Wei Hsia-an (魏峡安)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

Under the excellent situation in which the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is advancing in triumph, a handful of class enemies had the audacity to engineer a counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square, rabidly aiming the spearhead at Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and openly unfurling the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing in a vain attempt to reverse the general orientation of criticizing Teng and hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. However, faced with the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, they were unable to weather the blows and crumbled. This has once again eloquently illustrated that the reactionary classes are vulnerable and isolated while the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is powerful and solid.

This counter-revolutionary incident signifies the intensification of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, its extremely serious nature being that the incident took place in the capital and at Tienanmen Square and involved the burning of cars and buildings and the beating of the worker-militia, the people's police, the PLA armymen, and the revolutionary masses. This band of fascist hooligans were so blinded by gain that they perpetrated every kind of misdeed, no less outrageous than the frenzied attacks launched by the bourgeois Rightists in 1957. However, the enemies' frenzy does not signify that they have any strength, for on the contrary it reveals their vulnerable class nature.

All reactionary classes are paper tigers that outwardly appear ferocious but inwardly are weak. This is because the relations of production and the social system they represent are already in decay and their position in history is in the decline. Since they move against the historical tide, they are doomed to perish. Today, the bourgeoisie as the last remaining exploiting class in history is near the end of its journey. With the deepening of the socialist revolution in our country and the ever increasing consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeois forces have suffered repeated blows while the capitalist foundation has been further weakened. The sabotage and disturbances carried out by a handful of class enemies represent the concentrated expression of the desperate, death-defying resistance of the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Their moribund, reactionary class status determines that their defiance of the proletariat is as rabid as the "home-going contingent" of the bygone years. This expression of frenzy reveals their vulnerability when their end is near. A popular Chinese saying goes, "when a dog is desperate it will jump over the wall." What makes the dog jump over the wall, something it is not supposed to do normally? It is because after it is beaten, it becomes so desperate that it loses its sense, dashing here and

there and struggling hopelessly and recklessly. When a handful of class enemies are struck down, they will never be reconciled to their defeat and are bound to carry on their deathbed struggle. Vainly trying to restore the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party are in need of their own representatives. In his Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Teng Hsiao-p'ing went in for rumor-mongering and persisted in revisionism in the service of the bourgeoisie as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, with the entire reactionary class pinning its hopes for staging a comeback on him. Teng's prompt unmasking and repudiation has once again dashed the fond dreams of the whole reactionary class of restoring itself, causing changes in the relative class strengths to swing in favor of the proletariat. Finding themselves in dire trouble, the class enemies denied of truth and support of the masses had to make the last gamble. This is illustrative of their utter vulnerability.

Lacking knowledge of the laws of the objective world, class enemies invariably resort to the use of idealist and metaphysical methods to evaluate the situation. This is a common characteristic of all reactionary and declining classes. Chairman Mao pointed out when he was criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique: "Their class instinct has led them to think all the time that they themselves are so powerful while the revolutionary forces will not work. They always overestimate their own strength and underestimate our own." "This is because they have to deceive not only others but also themselves." ("Introductory Notes to 'Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique'") In more than 20 years since our country was founded, the reactionary classes have sprung out more than once to engage the dictatorship of the proletariat in a trial of strength, each time always ending in their own defeat. On seeing Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, a handful of counter-revolutionary elements thought that the proletariat could do nothing about it. They unfurled the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in the belief that with Teng as their general backer they could fan up the ill wind and overturn the realm of the proletariat. How marvellous their calculations! However, the development of history followed a course that was just the opposite of theirs. "Regression eventually produces the reverse of what its promoters intend." ("New-Democratic Constitutional Government") They boasted about themselves and spoke of the people's strength as nothing worthwhile and this was intended to give themselves a big boost and to deceive those who were not quite familiar with the truth. The revolutionary people understand materialism and dialectics; they know how to use the concept of class struggle and the method of class analysis to observe and analyze problems. When the current counter-revolutionary conspiratorial activities barely began, they at once aroused the vigilance of the people in the capital; and with the development of the situation, everybody became increasingly aware of the serious counter-revolutionary nature of the incident. When the counter-revolutionary elemen became most rampant, the Party at once ordered the dispatch of the worker-militia in the capital to smash their political conspiracy at one stroke, and this revealed their true features as a paper tiger. This is true of the law of class struggle which shows that the more blatant the counter-revolutionarie the more they will receive heavy blows from the people and the more tragic will be their defeat.

The band of hooligans vainly tried to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as Nagy, the ringleader of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident. This clearly indicates that Teng represents the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and all reactionary classes. If Teng's revisionist line was successful and the bourgeoisie inside the Party usurped power, then the dictatorship of the proletariat would become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the laboring people would once again be pilloried by the exploiting classes. This is something the hundreds of millions of the worker-peasant masses will never tolerate. "The exploiters and counter-revolutionaries are always in the minority at any time and anywhere, while the exploited and revolutionaries are always in the majority." ("Introductory Notes to 'Materials Concerning the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique'") The class enemies are merely a handful. Their interests are diametrically opposed to those of the masses of the people who make up more than 95 percent of the population. They have offended the majority and this has destined them to become unpopular and utterly isolated. As early as 1957 when the Rightists attacked the Party, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Certain people in our country were delighted by the events in Hungary. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government. Their hopes ran counter to the interests of the masses and therefore could not possibly win their support." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The masses of people suppressed the handful of class enemies and exercised dictatorship over them, a punishment the latter well deserved.

Our Party has always had faith in and relied on the masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the masses. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution." ("Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work") In the all-evil old society the Chinese people were long and brutally exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists at home and suffered from imperialist aggression and bullying abroad. What does restoring capitalism mean? This is not an abstract, theoretical question to the vast numbers of laboring people; it is rather a practical question of going through the same kind of suffering once again. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the people of China fought valiantly for decades before they were emancipated. In the protracted bloody struggle they realized the truth that only socialism can save China. After the founding of the new China, our Party again led the people of the whole country to carry out the socialist revolution. After going through acute and complex rounds of class and line struggles, particularly the crucible of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has gained wide popularity while the masses of the people have vastly heightened their consciousness of the class and line struggles. They have more consciously recognized the trend of historical development and more deeply comprehended that their destiny is closely linked with the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. As experienced fighters against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and all class enemies, they know how to distinguish socialism from capitalism and Marxism from revisionism and are able to see through the enemies' disguises and identify their sinister motives and ferocious features. Once

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is grasped by the broad masses of people, the revolutionary people with a high sense of political consciousness will become a powerful material force if they are organized under the Party's leadership. As Lenin rightly said, "There is no force in the world that can repulse the millions upon millions of workers who are increasingly conscious and are increasingly united and organized." ("May Day," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. VII, p. 187)

The masses of people want revolution and resolutely take the socialist road. They are determined to fight and defend the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and safeguard the victorious fruits of the great cultural revolution. The sabotage and disturbances engineered by a handful of counter-revolutionary hooligans aroused the great proletarian indignation of the people of the whole country. For the revolutionary people to suppress them is to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, and only this represents the true desires of the masses. As Chairman Mao said, "Punishing this kind of people is the demand of the broad masses in society, and not to punish them runs counter to the wishes of the masses." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") After the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, the army and the people throughout the country, from the shores of the East Sea to the Yalutsangpu River and from the Greater Khingan Range to the Hsisha Islands, have held rallies and processions in support of the two resolutions of the CCP Central Committee. They roundly denounced the crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and a handful of counter-revolutionaries, drowning them instantly in the furious seas of the masses of people. Such is the strength of the awakened masses! Such is a revolutionary mass movement!

The handful of class enemies are the representatives of the declining classes, and this determines that their counter-revolutionary cause will be short-lived. People rightly refer to them as reactionaries because they vainly try to stop the wheel of history from advancing and turn it back. They will reap what they have sown and pave the way for their own collapse. Liu Shao-ch'i recruited renegades and sworn followers and frenziedly carried out restorationist activities. He teamed up with Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the early stages of the great cultural revolution in pushing the bourgeois reactionary line, besieging the revolutionaries and exercising white terror. How vicious! What was the result? The bourgeois headquarters commanded by Liu Shao-ch'i crumbled one morning. Secretly organizing a counter-revolutionary "united fleet," Lin Piao conspired to engineer a counter-revolutionary armed coup aimed at setting up the Lin family fascist dynasty. He literally threatened to flatten Lushan and make the earth stop spinning. But in the end he had to flee and died in a crash in the desert, becoming an ignominious renegade and traitor! Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 percent of the population." The people have won the struggle, and the fierce flames of struggle have tempered them. The revolutionary people will never tolerate subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat nor tolerate the Rightists changing the regime. "Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" -- the sabotage and disturbances engineered by a handful of class enemies will only quicken the

collapse of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their own. Hereafter, whoever follows in the footsteps of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and practices restoration and regression in China definitely will not have a good end.

Chairman Mao says: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again....till doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle") This irrefutable Marxist law has been fully confirmed by innumerable facts in history. The counter-revolutionary political incident that occurred at Tienanmen Square made us see how correct and profound Chairman Mao's thesis is. This incident has provided people with an animated lesson on class struggle, enabling the broad masses of people to further recognize the danger of revisionism and to identify the reactionary substance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link." Even certain muddle-headed people have quickly discerned their true features. The class enemies' vulnerability and isolation, however, do not mean our final victory. Class struggle will still exist for a long time. In the present situation in which we have won great victories, we must maintain our revolutionary vigilance and bear firmly in mind the great revolutionary Lu Hsün's advice: If "one is intoxicated by the songs of triumph, becomes lax and forgets to attack, so the enemy take the opportunity to arise anew." ("Celebrate the Side That Has Recaptured Shanghai and Nanking") In order to further isolate and defeat the enemies, we must deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, correctly distinguish and handle the two different types of contradictions, and do penetrating and meticulous ideological work on those who have been hoodwinked. Let us rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, bravely advance and attack Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the class enemies in their deathbed struggle, and win new victories in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

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Teng Hsiao-p'ing Totally Betrays Marxism

by

Li Chang (黎 章)

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Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. His reactionary program and line being antagonistic to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, politically he represented the interests and aspirations of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party in a forlorn bid to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Ideologically, that is, theoretically, he completely revised the three component parts of Marxism, namely, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. At present, the great struggle to criticize Teng's revisionist line and strike back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing victoriously. The effort to track down the counter-revolutionary activities is being unfolded in depth. The situation is excellent. Led by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we must advance in the wake of victory, seriously study a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly liquidate Teng's crimes in attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Ideologically, that is, theoretically, we must penetratingly criticize his revisionist fallacies and thoroughly uncover his reactionary nature in betraying Marxism.

I.

The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism, the most important aspect of scientific socialism. To adhere to or oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been a focal point of struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, is a renegade from the dictatorship of the proletariat. He rejects class struggle in socialist society, opposes exercising all-round dictatorship by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and attempts to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, thereby totally betraying the Marxist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dealing with the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit,

in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential." ("'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 181)

The great leader Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up both the positive and negative historical experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the October Revolution, and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has profoundly elucidated the laws of class struggle in socialist society, and in both theory and practice solved not only the question of whether or not it is necessary to continue the revolution, against whom the revolution should be directed and how, but also the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and build socialism. As early as 1949, Chairman Mao pointed out that after nationwide power was seized, the principal contradiction in the country was the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeosie. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, Chairman Mao repeatedly explained in a series of writings and directives that throughout the historical period of socialism classes, class contradictions and class struggle existed and the principal contradiction was that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, besides formulating for our Party a basic line for adhering to the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. He especially analyzed the problem of struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and in the course of the socialist education movement pointed out that "the target of the current movement is those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road." Recently, he further pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Not only has he solved from the theoretical aspect the question of how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, but on the basis of this theory, he personally initiated and led a series of political movements such as the great proletarian cultural revolution, the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the discussion and criticism of Water Margin and the current counter-attack against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. These movements have all been class struggles waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, with the object of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

Betraying our Party's basic theory and basic practice over the past 20 years and more, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has gone all out to reject class struggle in socialist society. As early as when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production attained basic victory, he followed Liu Shao-ch'i in advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle, saying, among other things, "the class contradictions have now been fundamentally settled," "since classes have basically disappeared, it is inappropriate to stress class struggle." After the great cultural revolution, his

revisionist stand did not change. Not long after he resumed work, he dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," rejected class struggle as the key link, tampered with the Party's basic line, and even uttered such nonsense as "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" In open betrayal of Marxism, he launched an open, frenzied attack against Chairman Mao's directives and the Party's basic line.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's aim in advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle is essentially to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the conclusion but a continuation of class struggle in a new form. It is a means for the proletariat, which has won and seized political power, to carry out class struggle against the bourgeoisie which, though defeated, has not been destroyed and disappeared and which has intensified rather than ceased its resistance." ("Preface to the Published 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 343) Anyone who rejects and opposes struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie will naturally reject and opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat. In betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat, a revisionist, apart from openly abandoning and opposing this dictatorship, often employs this means: superficially he too uses the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," but in reality he maliciously distorts, emasculates and alters the real revolutionary content of this dictatorship. In other words, he advocates the theory of the dying out of class struggle, rejects the proletariat's struggle against and dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and instead, dwells only on the state leadership over economic construction. Through such deceptive tactics, the dictatorship of the proletariat is made to "evolve" into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is behind the smokescreen of the theory of the dying out of class struggle that the Soviet renegade clique in the Soviet Union overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat founded by Lenin and practices the dictatorship of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie. Brezhnev, chieftain of Soviet revisionism, openly tampered with Lenin's clear-cut thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and said "the dictatorship of the proletariat means that the working class exercises state leadership over socialist construction." (Brezhnev's speech at a Moscow sinister meeting on June 7, 1969.) It was under cover of such a pack of lies that they restored capitalism in a general way and exercised brutal fascist dictatorship over the Soviet proletariat and laboring people. In plotting to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao also used such tactics. And it is their mantle that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has inherited.

Criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao pointed out: "In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the

proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao's instruction reveals the reactionary substance of the theory of the dying out of class struggle peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has never stopped the class struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. By taking the lead in stirring up the Right deviationist wind, pushing a revisionist line and reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution and settling account with it, he meant to launch a wild attack against the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. From Teng's words and deeds, a sinister line can clearly be seen: He attacks and opposes everything that helps consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration from the superstructure to the economic base; he applauds and promotes by all possible means everything that is conducive to the restoration of bourgeois dictatorship.

Chairman Mao has said: "The proletariat must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture." After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the bourgeoisie still retained considerable strength in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture. By relying on this strength and under the protection of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, they carried out a prolonged struggle against the proletariat and even exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in such spheres as literature and art and education. Unless this situation is thoroughly changed, it is impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether to carry out the socialist revolution in the various spheres of the superstructure and whether to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in these spheres is an important hallmark distinguishing those who persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat from those who oppose it. Didn't the advocates of the Right deviationist wind, with Teng Hsiao-p'ing as their chieftain, say publicly that it was forbidden to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of science and technology? Didn't they do their utmost to oppose turning schools into tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat? In opposing the revolution in the spheres of education, literature and art and public health and in reversing the verdict passed on the revisionist line that prevailed for 17 years prior to the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants nothing less than restoring the bourgeois dictatorship in these areas.

Chairman Mao has called on the people of the whole country to make clear "why Lenin spoke of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie," and posed the question of restricting bourgeois rights as a basic measure for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bourgeois rights that still exist in socialist society constitute the soil and conditions which continually engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie. "Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." Whether or not it is necessary to restrict bourgeois rights is, in the final analysis, a question of whether or not it is necessary to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat. On this point, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has also exposed his reactionary features in betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact that he is so adamantly opposed to restriction of bourgeois rights and so hostile to

new socialist things that restrict bourgeois rights is determined by his reactionary stand of opposing the proletarian dictatorship.

On one occasion Chairman Mao stated: "Bourgeois representatives who wormed their way into the Party, the government, the army and the various cultural circles are a band of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once the opportunity ripens, they will seize power and turn the proletarian dictatorship into the bourgeois dictatorship." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary crimes and the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square recently prove once more that this assertion made by Chairman Mao is extremely brilliant and absolutely correct. After Teng Hsiao-p'ing's conspiracy to the transform the proletarian dictatorship into the bourgeois dictatorship through pushing a revisionist program and line was thwarted and exposed, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party whom he represented and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and Rightists could not wait to launch a wild counter-offensive against the proletariat. They viciously attacked our dictatorship of the proletariat as "Ch'in Shih Huang's feudal society"and vainly attempted to present Teng as Nagy, ringleader of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident, to stage a counter-revolutionary coup and establish a bourgeois dictatorship. This further revealed that Teng is the general representative of the various kinds of reactionary forces hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. China's dictatorship of the proletariat was established after prolonged revolutionary struggle under Chairman Mao's leadership; it is deeply rooted among the vast masses of people, and has become more consolidated and stronger through the great cultural revolution. The death-throes struggle by Teng and a handful of class enemies can only mean that they lift a rock only to drop it on their own feet, that they will end with total defeat.

II.

Marxist political economy is an important theoretical basis for the line and policies formulated by a proletarian political party. The theory of proletarian dictatorship is an inevitable conclusion derived by Marx from his analysis of the laws governing the capitalist relations of production. Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his revisionist line have betrayed not only the theory of proletarian dictatorship but also the basic principles of Marxist political economy.

Applying the universal fundamental law of the unity of opposites to a profound analysis of socialist society, Marx and Lenin both pointed out explicitly that socialist society still bears the birthmarks of the old society and bourgeois rights exist in respect to distribution of articles of consumption. Lenin further stated: "There remains not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state--without the bourgeoisie." ("The State and Revolution", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 256)

Having summed up the practical experience after Lenin, Chairman Mao made an incisive analysis of the relations of production in socialist society and the movement of contradiction between such relations and

the productive forces, and developed Marxist political economy. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The socialist relations of production have been established and correspond with the developing productive forces; however, they are still not very perfect, and this imperfection is contradictory to the development of the productive forces." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") In his instruction on the question of theory, he further pointed out: "In a word, China is a socialist country. Before the liberation she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practices the eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "Our country now practices a commodity system, and the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." These scientific assertions clearly tell us that in socialist society there is still a contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, and this contradiction finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads, socialist and capitalist. The soil and conditions that engender new bourgeois elements embrace not only certain vestiges of the system of private ownership but also bourgeois rights that exist in respect to distribution according to labor, exchange at equal values, and the reciprocal relations between people. In order to remove the social basis of revisionism and create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise, it is necessary to restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This series of theses enunciated by Chairman Mao has broken the metaphysical viewpoint that has for a long time existed in the field of political economy and dealt heavy blows to the revisionist viewpoints of all shapes and colors.

Revisionists always declare that the revolution in the relations of production and in the superstructure ends with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, and that from then on the development of the productive forces becomes the primary and even the only task. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such an obstinate advocate of the theory of productive forces. As early as 1956, he teamed up with Liu Shao-ch'i in advocating that the principal contradiction within the country was "the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces," saying "now that the task of revolution has been basically completed, the task from now on will be to engage in construction." Last year, he reiterated the theory of productive forces as the theoretical basis for his revisionist line. He proposed "taking the three directives as the key link," rejecting class struggle as the key link and giving the label "four modernizations" to the theory of productive forces. He wanted to blow the so-called "economic typhoon" and "vocational typhoon"; in reality, he vainly attempted to blow away the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship in order to protect bourgeois rights and the economic basis on which the survival of the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie within the Party, depended.

This theory of productive forces basically denies that there is still a contradiction between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society. It denies that among the various factors of production people, and not things, are decisive, and consequently it denies that the productive forces can be pushed forward only by taking class struggle as the key link, persisting in putting proletarian politics in command, carrying out socialist revolution in depth, and firmly relying on and mobilizing the masses. Basically this theory denies that the socialist relations of production still bear the birthmarks of capitalism and that there are two possibilities for the development of the socialist relations of production, namely, unless the proletariat continues the revolution, restricts bourgeois rights and wages struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party, then socialism not only will not advance to communism but may even retreat to capitalism. It is now very clear that adherence to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's theory of productive forces would inevitably disrupt the already established socialist relations of production, with the result that those things which do not differ much from the old society in the relations of production would forever be retained and continuously expanded and capitalism and new bourgeois elements would emerge more quickly from the soil of bourgeois rights and foster the social basis for capitalist restoration.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is fond of saying: "No matter whether it is a white or black cat, it is a good cat that catches mice." This, more than many lengthy articles, can show up clearly the revisionist nature of the theory of productive forces. Criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chairman Mao said: "This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme 'white cat, black cat,' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Teng Hsiao-p'ing treasures revisionist and imperialist stuff. In his eyes, material incentives, profits in command, the slavish comprador philosophy, the doctrine of crawling behind others at a snail's pace, dictatorship by the stereotype, the "Constitution of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine" and so forth are indispensable things. If we act according to his comprador bourgeois economic thinking and his revisionist line, can we push socialist production forward? Certainly not. Only socialism, only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, can save China, as both history and present facts have confirmed. Therefore, what he means by developing the productive forces and realizing the four modernizations is false, and his attempt to restore capitalism is real. Our difference with him is basically not whether it is necessary to achieve four modernizations and develop the productive forces, but to take the socialist or the capitalist road.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocates material incentives and opposes criticism of material incentives because he wants to further strengthen and extend bourgeois rights. The theory of material incentives is an important viewpoint of the revisionist political economy. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always used it to defend its special privileges and private interests, to legalize its willful encroachment on the fruits of labor of the Soviet proletariat it exploits, and at the same time to instill

into the laboring people the decadent ideas of bourgeois self-interests so as to make them lose their revolutionary fighting will and submit to its oppression and exploitation. Lenin said: "Opportunism and social-chauvinism have the same economic basis: the interests of a tiny stratum of privileged workers and of the petty bourgeoisie who are defending their privileged position, their 'right' to crumbs of the profits 'their' national bourgeoisie obtain from robbing other nations, from the advantages of their position as the ruling nation, etc." ("Socialism and War", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 678) In socialist society, revisionism, far from being an accidental phenomenon, has its class basis and economic conditions. Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocates material incentives because he wants to defend and extend the economic conditions engendering revisionism. This is basically antithetical to the interests of the masses of workers, peasants, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Politics is the commander, the soul. "Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work." Our practice of more than 20 years proves that only by persisting in putting proletarian politics in command can we truly mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the vast masses of the people and lead them to advance along the big socialist road. The more energetically material incentives are promoted, the more bourgeois rights will be extended, the stronger the concept of private ownership will grow, and the farther we will move away from socialism and closer to capitalism. The reality of Soviet revisionism is a mirror. There, material incentives are practiced everywhere. But what about the result? While a handful of bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie is fattened, the broad masses of laboring people are increasingly impoverished materially and culturally and struggle amid hardships. Isn't it clear which class material incentives benefit and which class they harm, and whether they are Marxist or revisionist stuff? The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing clings to these things precisely proves that he is a revisionist betraying Marxism.

III.

The struggle between two political lines and the struggle between two lines in philosophy are often inter-related. The chieftains of successive opportunist lines within the Party, from Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Wang Ming to Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, all betrayed Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism in philosophy and took idealism and metaphysics as the philosophical basis for their opportunist lines. This goes also for Teng Hsiao-p'ing. His renunciation of Marxism in philosophy finds outstanding expression in his using idealism to oppose materialism and passing off eclecticism for dialectics.

Marxism always holds that the masses of people are the makers of history. Chairman Mao says: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." ("On the Coalition Government") He also says: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish." ("Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys'") Our cause, all our work, and all our plans, basically speaking, are nothing more than reflections of the demands of the masses of people. Coming from the masses and going back to the masses--this is our basic method of leadership and is also the only correct ideological line for knowing and changing the world according to materialist dialectics. In contrast to this Marxist-Leninist line, "idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective and

the separation of knowledge from practice." ("On Practice") All revisionists are historical idealists. In their view, history is made by a small number of heroes, not by slaves. They basically refuse to recognize the truth that the masses are the real heroes. They are very afraid of mass movements, and when a mass movement is under way, they always try by a thousand and one means to suppress it. Hasn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing given a full performance in this respect? When agriculture was undergoing socialist transformation, he opposed cooperativization. When the great cultural revolution began, he teamed up with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing a bourgeois reactionary line and suppressing the revolutionary masses. And now he stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, negated the great cultural revolution and the new socialist things, stood on the opposite side of the masses, vented his hatred on the revolutionary masses, and used the big baton of so-called "adjustments" to strike at the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, thereby further revealing his features as an historical idealist. He is against wholeheartedly relying on the working class and the laboring masses, saying that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." Marxism holds that the most powerful productive force is the revolutionary class itself. Lenin said: "The primary productive forces of all mankind are the workers, the laborers." ("Deception of the People with the Slogans of Freedom and Equality", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 843) Opposing this fundamental principle of historical materialism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing said that "productive forces are science." He attacks the working-class leadership over such spheres of the superstructure as education and science and technology, saying "they are ignorant and unconcerned." He advocates that leadership should be exercised by bourgeois intellectuals who have "a high level and knowledge." In short, he has consistently adhered to Confucius' idealist conception of history that "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid." While despising the masses, he firmly takes the stand of the bourgeois overlord and wants to restore the domination by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals. As a result, he places himself in a position antagonistic to the broad masses and cadres.

Marxist philosophy maintains that the law of unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe, and that the two opposites in a contradiction unite as well as struggle against each other and it is this that pushes the development of things forward. In the course of development of complicated matter, there are many contradictions, one of which is the principal contradiction. The existence and development of this principal contradiction determines or influences the existence and development of other contradictions. Applying this fundamental law of unity of opposites to observing society, we see that in socialist society the principal contradiction within the country is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. When this principal contradiction is grasped, when class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is taken as the key link, and when everything falls in place as the key link is grasped, all other contradictions will be resolved correctly. Teng Hsiao-p'ing openly revised this fundamental principle by placing stability and unity and the development of the national economy also in the position of key link. In this way, he negated the principal contradiction and the fundamental law of unity of opposites, and completely sank into the quagmire of eclecticism.

Eclecticism is revisionism. Such is the eclectic tactic Teng Hsiao-p'ing adopted when he put the three directives on a par, put politics on a par with economics, and politics on a par with vocational affairs and technology, and resorted to the sophistry of obliterating the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction. Criticizing Bukharin, Lenin pointed out: "'Now this, and now that,' 'on the one hand, on the other'--this is Bukharin's theoretical stand. This is eclecticism." ("More on the Trade Union, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 449) Isn't it appropriate to apply these words to Teng Hsiao-p'ing? This phenomenon precisely reflects the frailty of revisionism. It is their intention to overthrow those theoretical solutions worked out by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to replace them with revisionist theories. But they dare not do so blatantly because practicing revisionism goes against the will of the people, against the interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, namely, the masses of people accounting for 95 percent of the population. So, they practice eclecticism, because "when Marxism is converted into opportunism, passing off eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way to deceive the masses." (Lenin, "The State and Revolution", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 188) However, their tricks no longer work against the broad masses whose consciousness of class and line struggles has grown with each passing day.

IV.

Lenin said: "The fact that opportunists in form belong to the workers' political party does not in the least change this fact: objectively opportunists are a political contingent of the bourgeoisie, disseminators of bourgeois influence, bourgeois agents in the workers' movement." ("Bankruptcy of the Second International", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 653) Opportunists and revisionists, in order to push the political line on behalf of the bourgeoisie, always attack and revise the three component parts of Marxism. From Bernstein to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, all have totally betrayed Marxism on the pretext that Marxism is obsolete. After Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has now come out to become the teacher by negative example. Did he not always say "Don't always speak old words; we must speak some new words"? From the above analysis it can be seen clearly that the "old words" he wanted people not to say is the fundamental principle of Marxism; and the "new words" he wanted people to say is the revisionist stuff such as the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, idealism and eclecticism! When these things are used by class enemies as a weapon to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, they become those utterly reactionary and filthy political slogans in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. Didn't the small handful of counter-revolutionaries who created this counter-revolutionary political incident frantically clamor for "genuine Marxism-Leninism"? These reactionaries who oppose communism and the people and cherish deepseated hatred against the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country are extremely hostile to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. What they want is revisionism and fascism from head to toe. They direct the spearhead of attack at the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and openly hoist the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This shows that in the minds of

the small handful of counter-revolutionaries, the "ism" is Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionism. This has even more glaringly revealed that Teng has totally betrayed Marxism, practiced revisionism and represented the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and of class enemies at home and abroad.

At present, the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts has won great victories. On the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee decided to dismiss Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts inside and outside the Party. This has greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionary people and considerably deflated the arrogance of class enemies. However, the struggle has not come to an end. To penetratingly criticize Teng's revisionist line ideologically, that is, theoretically, remains an important fighting task before us. Historical experience shows that if we are to thoroughly liquidate an erroneous political line, we must criticize it deeply and thoroughly from the ideological, namely, theoretical aspect. In directing the whole Party to struggle against the successive opportunist lines, the great leader Chairman Mao has given serious heed to theoretical criticism, and in each struggle has invariably called on the whole Party to seriously read Marxist-Leninist books, Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. As the comrades of the whole Party have studied and read conscientiously in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, we have not only overcome the successive opportunist lines, but through struggle, enabled the whole Party's Marxist level to be raised considerably, thereby promoting the rapid development of the revolutionary cause. At present, in order to develop the excellent situation and to win still greater victories in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind, we must still follow Chairman Mao's instruction "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism." In the course of struggle we must seriously study Marxist-Leninist works, Chairman Mao's writings, and a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao. We must firmly grasp the general orientation of this struggle to criticize Teng and carry it through to the end.

Lenin said: Marxism "had to fight at every step in its course." ("Marxism and Revisionism", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 1) The development and victory of Marxism is bound to cause the bourgeoisie and revisionism to attack and revise Marxism more frequently and more violently. However, history proves that after each major struggle against revisionism, Marxism becomes even stronger and more dynamic. It is precisely in the course of struggle against revisionism that Marxism has continued to develop. And revisionism, like the bourgeoisie it represents, is decadent, moribund, and bound to perish.

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What Did Teng Hsiao-p'ing Preach on the Sports Front?*

by

Yün Li (云 力)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

The vast numbers of cadres and the masses on the sports front resolutely support the two brilliant and wise resolutions of the Party Central Committee and warmly hail the great victory in crushing the counter-revolutionary political adverse current which occurred at Tienanmen Square. The publication of these two resolutions and imposing the dictatorship of the proletariat over a handful of counter-revolutionaries greatly boosted the morale of the proletariat and deflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie, encouraging even more the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country to deepen the great struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and thoroughly liquidate the crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

The Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts first stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, is also manifested in sports circles. It negates the fruit of victory won on the sports front through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, distorts the fundamental orientation and tasks of sports work, and vainly attempts to lead socialist sport onto the revisionist path to serve the bourgeoisie in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao points out: "What! 'Take the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Chairman Mao's instruction is a sharp criticism of the reactionary fallacy of "taking the three directives as the key link" preached by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng, in order to peddle his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in sports circles, said nothing about adhering to the Party's basic line, grasping class struggle and giving first place to proletarian politics; instead, he said: "'Friendship first, competition second'--this is the key link." Your "program of work can be none other than to improve standards and strive for better results!" Like the absurdities he spread in other fields of endeavor, his speech to sports circles confuses matters by replacing the primary issue with the secondary.

"Friendship first, competition second" is a principle put forward by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. It is an important component of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on physical culture and sports. Conscientiously adhering to this principle in sports competitions over the past several years, Chinese sports promoters and sportsmen have achieved good results and the principle has drawn favorable comments from foreign

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* Excerpts were carried by NCNA on May 9 and have been incorporated into this full translation--SPRCM Ed.

friends. In future competitions, this principle will be firmly adhered to. However, this principle is not the key link of physical culture and sport as a whole. It is secondary. Adhering to this principle alone does not solve the question of what direction and which road China's sports movement must take. Only when we take class struggle as the key link and consistently criticize the bourgeois trend of trying to win at all costs and other bourgeois ideas concerning sport is it possible to uphold the principle of "friendship first, competition second." In proclaiming this principle as the "key link" in the field of sport, did Teng Hsiao-p'ing want us to seriously enforce this principle? The answer is no, judging by a series of sinister remarks he made on giving first place to techniques. If sportsmen were educated and trained according to his idea of giving first place to techniques in ordinary times, would they persist in "friendship first" during competitions? When he arbitrarily described "friendship first, competition second" as a "key link" in sports work, his actual aim was to abolish this principle and make us forget the key link, class struggle. Killing two birds with one stone is Teng's evil intent.

He nonsensically defined the task of our sports promoters and sportsmen as being "none other than improving standards." In other words, there is no other work for them to do. "None other than" sounds very simple, but what Teng Hsiao-p'ing actually advised, in effect, was to cast class struggle and proletarian politics to the winds. We cannot but ask Teng Hsiao-p'ing: Do Chairman Mao's teachings on class struggle apply to sports circles? As part of the superstructure, sport in a class society belongs to a definite class. It is subordinate to a definite political line. We must realize that in China the exploiting classes' concept of sport and habitual attitudes still have deep influence in the field of sport. The bourgeoisie has never stopped trying to take over this position from the proletariat. When pushing their counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the bourgeoisie and capitalist-roaders in power in the Party invariably poked their fingers in sporting affairs and spread bourgeois ideas so as to divert the socialist orientation of our sports movement. Because of interference and disruption by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line before the great proletarian cultural revolution, the field of sport was for a time flooded with bourgeois and revisionist trash. Among such trash ideas were those of giving first place to sports technique; trying to win at all costs; material incentives; and seeking fame and profit via sporting achievements. Such trash had a corrupting effect on some sports promoters, competitors and even sports enthusiasts and obstructed the development of socialist sport. This revisionist line on sport and the bourgeois idea of seeking fame and profit were criticized in the cultural revolution and socialist sport began to make big advances in China. But the struggle was not over and our achievements must be consolidated still further. When the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts was rampant last summer and autumn, there was talk in sports circles that "the principal contradiction is the failure to raise sports standards to a higher level." Facts prove that in the field of sport as well as in other fields of endeavor, "there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." In the field of sport, the principal contradiction is still the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the main danger is still revisionism. Teng's

deliberate rejection of class struggle in sports circles is aimed at "none other than" benumbing the class struggle concept of the vast numbers of sports promoters and sportsmen, so that the physical culture and sports position may be turned into a battleground for the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat.

Politics is the commander, the soul. Political work is the lifeblood of all economic and technical work. Technique of any kind must inevitably serve the politics of a definite class, and sporting technique is no exception. Do we want to improve sports standards, raise the technical level of our sports and show good results? Of course we do. However, we must be clear about the purpose of improving standards. Do we improve standards for the purpose of serving proletarian politics, serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the sports popularization movement, or for the purpose of entertaining a few? Do we improve our results in international competition so that we can do better in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian line on foreign affairs, or for the sole purpose of winning championships and better standing in international sports? In the parlance of our sportsmen, does one improve his sporting skill for the sake of the revolution or for personal gain? Teng Hsiao-p'ing never touched on these vital issues. Instead, he talked about our task as being "none other than improving standards and striving for better results." In this way, he denied the essential difference between socialist and capitalist sports. In today's world when there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, we will inevitably expose our sportsmen to bourgeois ideological corrosion if we pay attention only to technique without giving them education on the struggle between the two classes and the two lines and pay no attention to the question of orientation. Even if some may raise their standards, the bourgeois ideology will also rise in their minds. Some, while unable to raise their standards, may have their ideological level lowered considerably. Didn't we have many such lessons before the great proletarian cultural revolution? It goes without saying that our sportsmen must improve their skills. However, they are all young and it is of primary importance to bring them up as successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. This means never forgetting to put proletarian politics in command. We must constantly guide them in conscientious study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, in modestly learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers in the three great revolutionary movements, in conscientiously remolding their world outlook so as to become both red and expert. Otherwise, if they lose vigilance in the face of bourgeois attack, they will inevitably regard their skills and achievements as capital in scrambling for position and gain and as a commodity for fetching a higher price. The unchecked development of such bourgeois individualism would be very dangerous.

Can it be that by calling for putting skills in command, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is really interested in raising the technical level of the proletariat? No! His aim is to oppose putting proletarian politics in command. The advocates of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in scientific and technical circles even went so far as to use the conquest of Mount Jolmo Lungma by a Chinese mountaineering team as an example in

suggesting "regardless of whether they climbed from the southern or northern slope," the important thing was to "scale the height," thus openly peddling Teng Hsiao-p'ing's trash that "no matter whether the cat is black or white, it is a good cat so long as it catches mice" and wantonly preaching the fallacy of putting skills in command. Can it be that our mountaineering team scaled the height by putting skills in command as Teng advocated? This is a sheer slander against our mountaineers! It is precisely because the mountaineers have exerted themselves in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, insisted on putting proletarian politics in command, actively participated in the three great revolutionary movements, humbly learned from the workers, peasants and soldiers and conscientiously remolded their world outlook that they practiced mountain-hiking the hard way with the lofty goal of winning glory for the proletariat, and finally succeeded in getting to the world's top. The numerous difficulties and hazards they overcame simply defy anyone whose head is filled with ideas of fame and gain. Their noble virtue of mutual help and fighting in unity in the face of difficulties and their proletarian revolutionary spirit of fearing no sacrifices and daring to win are something beyond imagination by anyone seriously affected by bourgeois individualism. These deeds eloquently prove that only by taking class struggle as the key link and by putting proletarian politics in command can we promote the continuous development of our socialist sports cause and can we constantly scale new heights in sports skills.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing declared that the aim of physical cultural work was only "to raise sports standards." This not only writes off completely the popularization of sports and the unfolding of mass sports activities, but also openly opposes Chairman Mao's teaching "promote physical culture and sports and build up the people's health." Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on physical culture and sports has been implemented, and sports activities with mass participation are well conducted in many places. In order to further promote the development of mass sports, the Third National Games held last year invited representatives of 300 advanced units that had distinguished themselves in grasping revolution and promoting production and in conducting mass sports activities. Especially the background picture of the group callisthenics at the National Games showed how socialist ideology dominated the ideological and cultural positions in Hsiaochinchuang, an advanced unit in Tientsin city. This so enraged Teng Hsiao-p'ing that he asked angrily "What's good about Hsiaochinchuang?" and ordered the removal of the picture. Such is the self-exposure of his ferocious features!

Whether or not vigorous efforts should be made to promote mass sports activities has always been the fundamental question in the struggle between the two classes and two lines on the physical cultural front. In the eyes of the bourgeoisie, sports are merely an entertainment and pastime and competitions are an instrument for making money. They are satisfied to train a few top sportsmen to make profits for them. As to mass participation in sports and the people's health, they have never taken this into consideration. The revisionist attitude to physical culture and sports is essentially the same. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and their like tried by every means to negate worker-peasant-soldier mass sports activities. They said that the task of a physical culture organ was to "run its own sports teams well." Although they dared not openly clamor about "making

money," they set their sight on winning the first place during competitions, and were uninterested in mass sports. This, in effect, also turned sports into a tool of entertainment and pastime for a few. Ours is a socialist country and the workers, peasants and soldiers are masters of the state. The fundamental task of socialist physical culture and sports is to serve them and promote their health. Chairman Mao pointed out that "physical culture is of major importance concerning as it does the health of our 600 million people" and that "wherever feasible, physical culture and sports of all kinds should be encouraged, such as physical exercises, ball games, running, mountain climbing, swimming and traditional Chinese Táichi boxing." These calls show the care of our great leader Chairman Mao for the health of the people and are the fundamental principles our physical cultural work should follow. Since our fundamental aim in developing sports activities is to build up the people's health, we must mobilize the masses to participate in physical training. With the people's health further improved, they can better grasp revolution and promote production. In this way, physical culture can better play its role in serving proletarian politics and the socialist economic base. By opposing the mass sports activities, the arch unrepentant Party capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing was in fact opposing the physical culture and sports in service of proletarian politics and trying to change our socialist sports into capitalist sports. This attempt of Teng's is part of his plot for an all-round capitalist restoration.

Since the start of the cultural revolution, a new development has emerged on the physical cultural front. The sportsmen conduct "open-door" training, go among the workers, peasants and soldiers and join them in class struggle and collective productive labor, receive education from them and put on exhibitions for them. More and more competitions are being held at the grassroots units with workers, peasants and soldiers invited to give their comments. These new things favorable for developing socialist physical culture and sports have all come into being in the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the sports front under the guidance of the Party's basic line. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the cadres and masses have in recent years conscientiously read Marxist-Leninist works, criticized the bourgeoisie and revisionism and vigorously carried out revolution in the superstructure, determined to make physical culture and sports an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the Party, the departments concerned have actively grasped the ideological building of a sports contingent, aroused the physical cultural workers and sportsmen to criticize the ideas of bourgeois rights and resist bourgeois corruption. They have begun to make innovations and achieved certain successes in changing the old systems, regulations and rules in physical cultural circles that do not conform to the socialist economic base. The socialist revolution on the sports front is rising and will surely break through all obstacles and surge forward. The arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempted to turn back the wheel of history and negate the revolution on the physical culture front with the object of restoring capitalism. This is sheer wishful thinking. We must take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, focus our fire of criticism on Teng, penetrating strike back at the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and carry the socialist revolution on the sports front through to the end!

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Criticize the Revisionist Fallacies on the Industrial and Communications Front

by

Chung Shih (钟实)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

Great victories have been won in the struggle--personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao--to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. However, the struggle is not over. To criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in the political, economic and ideological fields remains a fighting task to be firmly grasped. Fighting on the forefront of the struggle as the main force and under the leadership of Party committees at various levels, the workers, adhering to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and taking Chairman Mao's many important instructions as a weapon, are roundly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program and line and his set of revisionist fallacies spread on the economic front. This is an important aspect of carrying the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind through to the end.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party. Pushing his revisionist program and line and taking the lead in fanning the Right deviationist wind, he not only spread a great many absurd arguments in the various spheres of the superstructure, but also pitted himself against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the economic front. Under the guise of "all for modernization," he took a hand in industry and communications, attending and addressing all kinds of meetings, big or small. He also ordered concocting the so-called regulations for industrial development, and energetically peddled revisionist trash in a vain attempt to transform socialist industry into a basis for capitalist restoration. Though highly deceptive, what he proposed did not deceive the workers tempered through the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. It was naturally resisted and repudiated by the workers and cadres alike. In many factories and enterprises, the workers raised the revolutionary slogan "work against the revisionist line," persisted in taking class struggle as the key link, and rejected his package lock, stock and barrel. Representing the interests of the workers and other laboring people, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. This has greatly boosted the workers' revolutionary will to fight. In the course of struggle, the heroic working class and revolutionary people have come to understand still more clearly the reactionary substance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line.

What Is the Main Danger on the Industrial and Communications Front?

Bent on restoration and regression, Teng Hsiao-p'ing trumpeted "taking the three directives as the key link." He denied that the principal contradiction on the industry and communications front was one between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie and opposed taking class struggle as the key link. To him, the main danger at present was "nobody dares to talk about grasping production." He also alleged that "maintenance of equipment is bad," "no attention is paid to quality," "technology is backward" and so forth, and that these problems were quite "widespread." He openly negated the role of the Party's basic line in commanding industry and communications in a vain attempt to alter the socialist orientation of industrial development.

What are the widespread problems in industry and communications? What is the main danger there? Chairman Mao answered this question long ago. Ever since 1949, Chairman Mao has consistently stressed that "the principal contradiction within the country is that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." This is also the principal contradiction on the industrial and communications front. Inasmuch as this contradiction exists and develops, the widespread problems on the industrial and communications front for a fairly long time to come will still be those of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road and whether leadership should be in the hands of Marxists and workers or in the hands of the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders in the Party. The main danger is revisionism, capitalist restoration. Analyzing the necessity of the great cultural revolution at the First Plenum of the Party's Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories--I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them--leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people among those in charge of factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they were following that line of Liu Shao-ch'i--simply resorting to material incentives, putting profit in command and, instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there were indeed bad people in the factories." "This showed that the revolution remained unfinished." The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the industrial and communications front will never end until classes disappear. The old bourgeois elements are still around, and so are unreformed intellectuals. Corruption, theft and speculation occur frequently. The existence of bourgeois rights still engenders new bourgeois elements. There is still a market for the revisionist line on running enterprises, putting profit in command, material incentives, bonuses, and so forth. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road--this situation will prevail for a long time to come. Are these facts not seen by everyone? Teng Hsiao-p'ing rejects class struggle in industry and communications for the purpose of covering up the struggle he waged on behalf of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party against the proletariat, and covering up his pushing a revisionist line and taking the capitalist road. This, by negative example, urges us never to forget classes and class struggle.

Under the socialist system, factories and enterprises are the battleground where the proletariat wages class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Factories should not be regarded as purely economic organizations where the theory of productive forces is observed. Chairman Mao has said: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school." Only by consolidating the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and perfecting socialist relations of production can we develop socialist production with greater, faster, better and more economical results and make factories and enterprise strong fighting bastions for combating and preventing revisionism. If we forget the goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and grasp production in isolation from class struggle, no factory or enterprise can develop production for socialism, and there will be soil for engendering the bourgeoisie and capitalism. In the long run, the socialist ownership of factories will turn into capitalist ownership, and the workers will once more be reduced to wage slaves. The workers put it well: The theory of productive forces is nothing but a capitalist, revisionist theory. Encouraging people "to speak out for production boldly," Teng Hsiao-p'ing did not mean to achieve truly successful socialist production, but tried to induce people to write off factories and enterprises as a position of class struggle and give up the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie so as to pave the way for capitalist restoration.

Of course, socialist factories and enterprises must strive to fulfill and overfulfill their production plans and constantly solve all problems concerning equipment maintenance, technical innovations and quality control. However, similarly, these problems cannot be solved in isolation from the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao says: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." Only by taking class struggle as the key link, deepening the criticism of revisionism and capitalism, and continuing to solve the problem of what line to follow and what road to take will there be a correct direction and a powerful motive force for socialist production. Only thus will there be correct solutions to all problems related to production including equipment, technology, and quality. Only thus can we take our own road of industrial development with greater, faster, better and more economical results, rapidly build an independent and relatively complete industrial system and bring about industrial modernization along socialist lines. Opposing taking class struggle as the key link, clinging to his theme of "white cat, black cat" and making no distinction between Marxism and imperialism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing naturally took the capitalist road to the disruption of socialist production. "Modernization" in his parlance is capitalist modernization in the interest of the bourgeoisie, aimed at turning China into an economic appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. This is something we workers and other laboring people will never permit him to do.

Why Does He Reharp on the Old Tune of Profit in Command and Material Incentives?

To criticize the revisionist trash such as putting profit in command and material incentives is an important aspect of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie on the industrial and communications front. Ever since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, the worker masses have never relaxed their criticism of this trash. This so angered

Teng Hsiao-p'ing that he attacked the criticism of putting profit in command as "one-sided opposition to profit." He said, "Aren't you criticizing putting profit in command? It doesn't matter if we put profit in some sort of command here. Otherwise, on what else can the state depend?" Moreover, he openly opposed criticism of material incentives and made no secret of his revisionist views.

Why does our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat have to develop industry and other economic enterprises? Why must factories produce and workers work? For profit and money, or for revolution and the people? This question must be debated and made clear. Chairman Mao says: "The general policy guiding our economic and financial work is to develop the economy and insure supplies." ("Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War") Opening mines, refining iron and steel, making machines and developing all heavy and light industries is for no purpose other than insuring supplies, satisfying the requirements of socialist revolution and construction, meeting the needs of the people in production and daily life, for "being prepared against war, against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people." This is closely identified with the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the long-range goal of realizing communism. For the revolution and for the people--this is a basic hallmark distinguishing socialist production from capitalist production. The basic aim of capitalists in opening factories and running enterprises is to pursue the maximum profits. As Marx said, "The mission of capitalist society is to make money." ("Critique of Political Economy," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XIII, p. 148) "Surplus value of production, the making of fabulous profit, is the absolute law of this mode of production." (Capital, Vol. 1, p. 680) Everything they do is for making money. They would do only those things which bring them profit, and would stop at nothing in seeking profits. Such is the basic attribute of capitalist production. Advocating putting profit in command and material incentives and obliterating the basic difference between socialism and capitalism, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has only once more exposed his reactionary bourgeois stand and world outlook.

Putting profit in command and material incentives seem to be concerned only with money and matter, but in reality, they are part of bourgeois politics, a corrosive agent the bourgeoisie uses to corrupt our cadres and masses and disrupt our socialist relations of production. How can anyone say that it "doesn't matter" if such a package deal is implemented in socialist factories and enterprises? Socialist economy is planned economy, and ought to be developed proportionately and in a planned way. What a factory produces or doesn't produce, and how much it should produce, must be subordinated to a definite plan in the interests of the people. If every factory puts profit in command, producing more if profit is big, less if profit is small and nothing at all if no profit can be reaped, wouldn't this adversely affect and underminine the socialist planned economy and lead to anarchism in production? If the pursuit of profit is the aim, an enterprise will benefit itself at the expense of another and the socialist relations of cooperation will be turned into capitalist relations of competition. Putting profit in command, one-sidedly stressing output value and profit, worshipping "Marshal Lord Chao" /God of Wealth/, resorting to bonuses, and using material incentives to stimulate people's enthusiasm will inevitably

corrupt the minds of cadres and the masses, undermine the unity of the workers, lead people onto the evil road of thinking only about personal gains and losses and striving for fame and wealth, and turn the relations between people into relations between the employer and the employee, into monetary relations. It is obvious then that by putting profit in command and using material incentives, the socialist relations of production will be undermined, bourgeois rights will be viciously inflated, and, if such a state of affairs are allowed to develop, the result inevitably will be the restoration of capitalist ownership. In this respect, Soviet social-imperialism is a mirror, which shows up the evil designs of Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

To meet the needs of revolution and construction, it is also necessary for socialist enterprises to calculate costs and practice economic accounting. They should also fulfill their profit plans according to state requirements. This is common knowledge. These basics have not been discarded since the start of the great cultural revolution. The profits of socialist enterprises constitute the main source of socialist accumulation. We have always attached major importance to economic accounting and accumulation, and opposed the erroneous ideas of ignoring costs and accumulation and indulging in extravagance and waste. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing attacked the criticism of putting profit in command and material incentives as "one-sided opposition to making profit," he was bent on deliberately creating confusion with an ulterior motive. It is precisely because we have criticized this revisionist trash, mobilized the enthusiasm of the worker masses, seriously enforced the Party's line, principles and policies, and carried out the state plans that we have accumulated more and more funds for socialist revolution and construction since the beginning of the great cultural revolution. At present, a small number of enterprises, in order to extend industrial and agricultural reproduction and satisfy the needs of the people's livelihood, are temporarily running at a small profit, and some even at a loss. This is precisely a manifestation of the superiority of socialist planned economy within the bounds of planning. As for some enterprises which have suffered certain losses where such losses could have been averted, the basic reason is that the leading groups there neither have a correct ideological and political line nor grasp the class struggle effectively, that the functioning of these enterprises has been affected by bourgeois and revisionist trash, and the enthusiasm of the masses has not been brought into play. This shows more than anything else that it is still necessary to go on criticizing the revisionist line and the trash of putting profit in command and material stimulation. Chairman Mao says: "Ideological and political work is the guarantee for the fulfillment of economic and technical work and serves the economic base. Ideology and politics are also the commander, the soul. Once we slightly relax our grip of ideological and political work, economic and technical work will certainly go astray." In our socialist country, production is developed, not by relying on putting profit in command nor by material incentives, but by relying on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, on putting proletarian politics in command, on taking class struggle as the key link, and on mighty political and ideological work. This is fundamental to the successful operation of socialist enterprises.

Rely on the Working Class or on the Bourgeoisie?

To run industries by taking class struggle as the key link, "it is necessary to wholeheartedly rely on the working class," bring into full play the socialist enthusiasm of the masses, and launch vigorous mass movements. This has been Chairman Mao's consistent thinking, and a truth that has been borne out by practice. In contrast, Teng Hsiao-p'ing nonsensically claimed that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative" and opposed reliance on the working class. On the one hand, he peddled anew that package of control, checks, coercion and dictatorship by the stereotype so as to strangle the socialist enthusiasm of the masses; on the other hand, he vigorously advocated reliance on specialists in running factories and the slavish comprador philosophy, prostrating himself before bourgeois "authorities" at home and abroad and posing as a big bourgeois comprador.

Whether or not to trust and rely on the masses of workers is an important issue in the struggle between the two classes and two lines. Chairman Mao points out: The working class is the leading class, "most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary." ("On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") Without trusting and relying on the masses of workers, neither revolution nor construction can be carried out successfully on the industrial and communications front. The working class was born and has matured in the course of struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalism. It hates capitalism most, loves socialism most passionately, and takes the socialist road with the utmost resolve. Only by wholeheartedly relying on the working class and mobilizing the masses of workers to take part in leadership and management, pay heed to politics and major issues, and exercise revolutionary supervision over the enterprise leadership will it be possible to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, transform enterprises according to the ideological features of the working class vanguard, place leadership really in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses, and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The working class must also continue to transform itself in struggle, and raising its understanding of its own historical mission is one aspect of self-transformation. A major change that has taken place in factories and enterprises since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution is the further confirmation of the role of workers as masters. Party organizations of many factories and enterprises relying on workers' management of enterprises, have broken the bourgeois prejudice criticized by Lenin, a prejudice which held that "only the so-called 'upper classes,' only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organizational construction of socialist society." ("How To Organize Competition," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 395) This fully manifests the great role of the working class in socialist revolution and construction and effectively refutes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist fallacies.

The worker masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and endowed with infinite creative power, are the main force in socialist revolution and construction. Lenin said: "Dymanic, creative socialism is founded by the

masses of people themselves." ("Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIV, p. 269) What must we rely on in taking our own road of industrial development and speeding up socialist industrial modernization? We rely neither on hegemonism of foreign expansion and plunder nor on the slavish comprador philosophy of begging help from foreign capitalists, but, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, on the working class and the masses of people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. The imperialists had blockaded us, and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique had tried to strangle us. But we relied on and mobilized the masses, criticized the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and aroused the revolutionary spirit of independence, self-reliance and hard work among the masses, and it is this that has enabled us to overcome all difficulties and hazards on our road forward and win great victories such as we have won today. When we wholeheartedly rely on the working class and launch vigorous mass movements, revolution will advance full steam ahead, and greater, faster, better and more economic results will be achieved in production. Since the great cultural revolution began, some "forbidden zones" which have always frightened the foreigners have been opened up by the working class through practice; and those things which some "experts" and "authorities" believe cannot be done have been done by the workers and done very satisfactorily. These incontrovertible facts have once more proved the unalterable truth that "the masses are the real heroes."

Teng Hsiao-p'ing claims that reliance on the working class is "relative." This is a refurbished version of the "theory that the masses are backward" advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i. According to his fallacy, reliance on the working class is conditional: we may rely on it today but may not rely on it tomorrow; he would rely on it when doing so could benefit him; otherwise, he would not do so. This so-called "relative reliance" is in reality non-reliance or anti-reliance. This is determined by his bourgeois reactionary stand and world outlook. On whom does Teng Hsiao-p'ing rely? Let us find the answer from his reactionary words and deeds! After he resumed work, didn't he look everywhere for "hermits," call to office "those who have fallen into obscurity," and clamor that he would help those unrepentant capitalist roaders who "have made up their mind" and "are not afraid of being overthrown for a second time" to rise to power? This shows that he wanted to rely on the bourgeoisie in the Party. Didn't he say that he wanted to have those bourgeois intellectuals whose interests were identical to his and who "have a high level and knowledge" "brought to leadership posts"? This shows that he wanted to rely on a small number of bourgeois "specialists" and "authorities." Didn't he prostrate before "foreigners" and regard "foreign specialists" and "foreign equipment" as sacrosanct? Didn't he try his utmost to preach the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace? This shows that he wanted to rely on foreign capitalists. Judging by the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square in early April, those who supported Teng Hsiao-p'ing were a handful of class enemies, newly engendered bourgeois elements and scum of society including hoodlums, who were all hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. These also are

people he wanted to rely on. The fact that Teng sided with the bourgeoisie and opposed reliance on the working class precisely shows that he represents the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and is the behind-the-scenes boss of the counter-revolutionary restorationist forces. Does this not show most clearly whether Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to practice socialism or capitalism, and which direction and road he wants industry to take?

What Is the Purpose of "Readjustment"?

In pushing a revisionist line on the industrial and communications front, Teng Hsiao-p'ing uses "developing production" as a guise and adopts overall "readjustment" as a measure. Now, let us see what he wants "readjustment" for and where he wants to lead industry to. Does his proposal benefit production or disrupt both socialist revolution and socialist construction?

Teng Hsiao-p'ing paints a gloomy picture on the industrial and communications front since the start of the great cultural revolution, saying that in industry "problems are not few" and "quite numerous," that "necessary rules and regulations are absent," and that "old habits are difficult to get rid of." In short, in his eyes, everything seems to be in "disorder." He cried aloud that this should arouse "serious attention" and that he wanted to "risk his life" and "dares to readjust" to "reverse" the situation. His words and deeds tell us that his "readjustment" means reversal of the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and means restoration and regression.

What has been thrown into "disorder" by the great cultural revolution? Everyone knows the answer. The great cultural revolution destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, repudiated the revisionist line, and violently pounded at the capitalist things in the superstructure and in the relations of production. Such trash as putting profit in command, material incentives, and the slavish comprador philosophy are no longer attractive. Such fallacies as "the plant manager in command and the four chiefs in control," control, checks and coercion, and dictatorship by the stereotype no longer work. Aren't the bourgeoisie and revisionism thrown into disorder? What is wrong with this kind of revolution? The establishment of the three-in-one revolutionary committees, mass criticism, screening of class ranks,Party consolidation, streamlining of administrative structure, reform of unreasonable rules and regulations and the sending down of office personnel to the grassroots units--these steps taken under the guidance of Chairman Mao's instruction concerning struggle-criticism-transformation have resulted in remarkable changes in the appearance of factories and enterprises. Reasonable rules and regulations have continued to be perfected in the course of struggle. Consciousness of class and line struggles has been considerably raised on the part of cadres and the masses. Through the workers' participation in the leadership and management of their enterprises, the participation of cadres and technical personnel in labor, and the breaking of the narrow confines of division of work between workers, the cooperative spirit of "a coordinated chess game

and the 'Dragon River' water flowing throughout the plant" has been vastly promoted. The "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" has been further implemented. A great number of new things favorable to restricting bourgeois rights have grown up. The mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry has developed in greater depth. Naturally, the working class and the masses applaud these changes favorable to socialism in the superstructure and the relations of production on the industrial front. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing denounced them as "disorder" and attempted to "correct" them. How close this resembles the wailing of Confucius in the period of the collapse of the slave system that "the rites are lost and music is ruined" and that it was necessary "to restrain oneself and return to propriety"!

Teng Hsiao-p'ing said that those rules and regulations concocted in accordance with Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on enterprises management before the great cultural revolution "are still good and can still be applied." Letting the cat out of the bag, this is what he means by "necessary rules and regulations." Whether these things are good or bad is clear to the working class which has contested them repeatedly. During the great cultural revolution the revisionist line was criticized by the broad masses, and Teng himself made a "self-examination" and admitted his mistakes. But after the storm had passed, he wanted to bring these things out again and this he did. "Certain Problems Concerning Quickening Industrial Development" prepared on his order entirely inherited the mantle of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and went even further. This fully exposes the reactionary character of his "readjustment." What he meant by "readjustment" was nothing but a big baton with which to chop down the new things, a synonym of restoring the old things. What he wanted to get rid of by readjustment was Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. What he wanted to inherit was the revisionist tradition. What he wanted to remove was the socialist relations of production that have been established and the new things which restrict bourgeois rights in the superstructure and the relations of production. He wanted to restore and expand capitalist and revisionist things. He wanted to get rid of the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and restore the "Constitution of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine." Teng Hsiao-p'ing said that the crucial issue of "readjustment" was the "problem of leading groups" and that it was necessary to establish from top to bottom leading bodies that "are powerful, put daring to the fore and are capable." This meant that he wanted to bring into power those who dared to practice revisionism and were "experienced" and "capable" in doing so, so as to facilitate his pushing a revisionist line to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism from top to bottom.

To give his "readjustments" "legitimacy," Teng Hsiao-p'ing also found a pretext, alleging that "the productive capacities have not been fully developed," as if "readjustments" were aimed at developing production. But he could fool nobody. Both positive and negative experiences have proved that only revolution can liberate the productive forces and promote the development of production. To bring into fuller play the productive capacities in industry, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and constantly resolve the contradictions

between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. On the industrial and communications front there is also harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the socialist period. It is only when we, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, persistently put proletarian politics in command, correctly handle the contradictions in these respects according to socialist principles, restrict bourgeois rights in all fields, and reform those parts of the superstucture which are incompatible with the economic base and those aspects of the relations of production which are inconsistent with the productive forces that we can continue to bring the productive capacities into full play. Before the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing teamed up with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing a revisionist line on the industrial and communications front and stubbornly holding on and expanding those things in the superstructure and the relations of production which differed little from those of the old society. The result was to interfere with and disrupt the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and seriously hinder the development of China's socialist industry. During the great cultural revolution, the working class and the revolutionary people criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, pounded at the old things in the superstructure and the relations of production, and promoted the rapid development of the entire industrial production and construction. In the wake of the penetrating development of the struggle to strike back at the Right deviationist wind, the workers, cadres and revolutionary intellectuals on the industrial and communications front have displayed still more enthusiasm in grasping revolution and promoting production. Industrial production is making big advances. All this has powerfully rebuffed Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary fallacies. Teng's frantic opposition to reform in the relations of production and in the superstructure has only exposed his real intention to sabotage socialist revolution and socialist production and his vain attempt to restore capitalism.

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Attacking the Great Cultural Revolution Means Frenziedly Attempting Restoration

- criticizing the reactionary fallacy that "once a movement is launched it often happens that the old workers and experienced cadres are hurt"

by

Ch'in Yen (秦 焰)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing fabricated a great deal of extremely reactionary political rumors to incite a handful of counter-revolutionaries and unrepentant capitalist roaders to launch wild attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Adopting the abominable tactics of sowing dissension by spreading rumors and slanders, he said, "once a movement is launched it often happens that the old workers and experienced cadres are hurt." This reactionary fallacy is a malicious attack on the past political movements led by the Party, especially the great proletarian cultural revolution, and is counter-revolutionary incitement with an ulterior motive. His criminal aim is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, establish a feudal, comprador fascist dictatorship headed by him and to restore capitalism in China. The counter-revolutionary political incident which recently took place at Tienanmen Square and was subsequently crushed provided the strongest evidence of his wild restorationist attempt.

By saying "once a movement is launched," Teng Hsiao-p'ing meant not only the past political movements led by our Party, such as the agrarian reform during the period of the democratic revolution, the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements during the period of socialist revolution, the movement of sociaist transformation regarding the means of production, the anti-Rightist struggle, etc., but also the past struggles within the Party, such as the struggles against the "Left" and Right opportunist lines of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chü Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-t'ao during the period of democratic revolution and the struggles against the revisionist lines of Kao Kang, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao during the period of socialist revolution. The past political movements led by our Party and inner-Party struggles were struggles launched by the proletariat against the landlord and bourgeois classes and all other exploiting classes, struggles between Marxism and revisionism. Without these struggles, the proletariat could not seize political power and if it did, capitalism might still be restored. During each movement, it was clear whom our Party relied on, whom it united with and whom it hit at? In which of these movements were "the old workers and experienced cadres hurt"? To say that "once a movement is launched it often happens that the old workers and experienced cadres are hurt" is a sheer shameless fabrication. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is so keen on attacking the past political movements led by the Party and the inner-Party struggles obviously because he wants to reverse the verdicts on the defeated landlord and bourgeois classes and on the past revisionist lines which were criticized and repudiated.

By spreading such reactionary fallacies, Teng Hsiao-p'ing directs the spearhead of attack at the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under conditions of socialism. The principal contradiction which this great revolution sought to resolve is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the object of revolution being the bourgeoisie and the focus on the power-holders in the Party taking the capitalist road. The many assertions made by Chairman Mao on the great cultural revolution and the great practice of Chairman Mao leading us to smash the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao have fully testified to the nature and class content of the great cultural revolution. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, represents the interests of international imperialism, revisionism and reaction, the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, and the interests of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. For this reason, he has always cherished implacable hatred against the great cultural revolution launched by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. During the initial period of the cultural revolution, he ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i in pushing the bourgeois reactionary line and wildly suppressing the masses. Once he resumed part of the power, he hastily tried to reverse the correct appraisal of the great cultural revolution and settle account with it and launched a wild frenzied counter-attack on the Party and the people. By using the slander that the great cultural revolution had "hurt" the old workers and experienced cadres, he tries to basically distort the nature of the great cultural revolution and smear the class content of the great cultural revolution. This is another big exposure of his reactionary class nature.

Has the great cultural revolution "hurt" the old workers? A complete distortion of facts. Chairman Mao pointed out during the great cultural revolution: "China has 700 million people, and the working class is the leading class. The leading role of the working class must be fully brought into play during the great cultural revolution and in all work." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and inspired by his great call "The working class must exercise leadership in everything," the working class united with the broad revolutionary masses to fight against the revisionist line and the power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party, smashing the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The working class sent Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams composed of its own outstanding elements to various spheres of the superstructure to lead struggle-criticism-transformation, captured those hereditary domains of the bourgeoisie and put them back in the hands of the proletariat, and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Upholding the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, the broad masses of workers made tremendous contributions toward developing the socialist national economy. Large numbers of cadres of worker origin took up leading posts of the Party and the state at various levels, fully displaying the ability of the working class to exercise leadership. Many facts show that after the great proletarian cultural revolution, the working class has greatly heightened its political status and further strengthened its leading role. Never has China's working class been so elated and proud of being the master of the house as it is today. The feeling about this on the part of those old workers who suffered much in the old society and who were

persecuted by the revisionist line is especially deep. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a revisionist representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. During those few months the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was blowing most violently, he went campaigning everywhere in wild opposition to the leadership of the working class, clamoring that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and vilifying the promotion of cadres from among workers as "generally undesirable." Then, he assumed the posture of "pleading for the people," saying that the great cultural revolution had "hurt" the old workers and going all out to drive a wedge between the Party and the working class. Please look at his utterly hypocritic features as a double-dealer. Aren't they fully revealed?

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's allegation that the great cultural revolution "hurt" the cadres is also a fabrication. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great practice in which hundreds of millions of people participated to combat and prevent revisionism, and at the same time it is also a Marxist education movement for cadres. It is precisely in this movement that the masses of cadres were tested and tempered, saw more clearly the nature, object, tasks and prospects of the revolution during the historical period of socialism and raised their consciousness of class struggle, the two-line struggle, and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Deeply educated during the great cultural revolution, the vast majority of old cadres renewed their revolutionary youthfulness, with many joining the three-in-one leading groups at various levels, uniting with the middle-aged and young cadres in combat, and leading the masses to advance. They have played an ever greater role in socialist revolution and construction. As to those cadres who carried out the revisionist line, because of their mistakes, it is possible and reasonable for the masses to criticize them. Our Party has consistently adopted the policy of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." "So long as they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, do not stick to their mistakes and do not refuse to mend their ways despite repeated education, they should be allowed to start a new lease of life and be encouraged to atone for their sins with merit." During the great cultural revolution, we implemented this correct policy, united with the great majority of cadres, and isolated and hit at a handful of renegades, spies and unrepentant capitalist roaders who sneaked into our cadre ranks. Since criticizing errant cadres and helping them break with the revisionist line and come back to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line give expression to the Party's political concern and care for them, how can we say that they are "hurt"? Talking about "hurt," those who really hurt the cadres are precisely ringleaders of the revisionist lines. Because they want to practice revisionism, they invariably stand on the opposite side of revolutionary cadres and the masses. They attack and persecute in all possible ways whoever opposes their pushing a revisionist line. From Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's "punitivism" to Wang Ming's "ruthless struggle and merciless blows," from Liu Shao-ch'i's "hitting at the many in order to protect a few" to Lin Piao's "movement of dismissals," which of them didn't treat revolutionary cadres as enemies? The memory of how Teng Hsiao-p'ing--the No. 2 man of the Liu Shao-ch'i bourgeois headquarters--pushed the bourgeois reactionary line, ruthlessly suppressed the revolutionary masses, attacked the revolutionary cadres and practiced white terror is still fresh in our minds. Now, it is precisely this Teng Hsiao-p'ing who has launched a counter-attack and vilified the great cultural revolution as "hurting" cadres

in a vain attempt to attain his criminal aim of reversing verdicts and staging a comeback by using the abominable tactic of the thief crying "catch the thief." Similarly, he is wasting his effort.

Here, it is highly necessary to take note of Teng Hsiao-p'ing saying "experienced cadres." Does he refer to "experienced cadres" as those old cadres who carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution? No. These comrades are usually rejected and attached by him. His so-called "experienced cadres" are unrepentant capitalist roaders, himself included, who are discontent with the great cultural revolution and want to settle account with it and who insist on practicing revisionism. It is correct to say that the great cultural revolution has affected these people. The need for us to expose and criticize their errors in practicing revisionism is dictated by the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to combat and prevent revisionism. If we allowed them to do what they pleased, wouldn't we tolerate bourgeois restoration? The fact that a handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square and openly hoisted the ensign of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing in a frenzied attempt to cast Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the role of Nagy, chieftain of the Hungarian counter-revolutionary incident, eloquently shows that these people wanted nothing less than taking the revisionist Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the representative of their political interests. The rise of revisionism to power means the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. It is absolutely correct for Chairman Mao to personally unleash and lead the great proletarian cultural revolution and the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, focusing the attack right on the power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party, on the bourgeoisie within the Party.

The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing created the rumor that "once a movement is launched it often happens that the old workers and experienced cadres are hurt" in a frenzied attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the great cultural revolution and settle account with it supplies us with a lesson by negative example. The lesson is that we must adopt a correct approach toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and ourselves. That is to say, all of us must seriously transform our world outlook. Chairman Mao giving serious attention to the transformation of world outlook, has pointed out clearly: "Not only those who have not changed their basic stand need remolding; everybody should study and remold himself." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") He has also pointed out: "The working class remolds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remolds itself." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. This struggle invariably is reflected inside the Party, and inside the ranks of the working class. In this situation, people will degenerate if they fail to remold themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. During the complicated class struggle and two-line struggle, weren't some people who failed to distinguish Marxism from revisionism taken in by rumors and sophistry? Didn't some fall into the quagmire of revisionism because they failed to adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution?

This shows more than anything else that if we are to take a firm stand and a clearcut attitude in struggle and perseveringly practice Marxism and not revisionism, we must intensify the transformation of our world outlook.

Because truth is not in their hands, all revisionists have to fabricate rumors and lies to swindle the masses. By fabricating rumors and lies, Teng Hsiao-p'ing merely repeats these tactics. By so doing, his aim is to muddy the water and make people follow his revisionist line so as to attain his political goal of reversing verdicts and staging a comeback. In a similar way, the handful of class enemies who engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square used all sorts of counter-revolutionary rumors to deceive the people so as to divert the general orientation of struggle and conduct counter-revolutionary sabotage activities. The fact that the class enemies resorted to these abominable tactics does not show their strength but their extreme frailty. In the struggle to crush the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, we have acquired an important experience, that is, we must organize powerful revolutionary public opinion in struggle against counter-revolutionary rumors and puncture class enemies' conspiracies and intrigues. In the face of the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat, the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square was crushed quickly. But, enemies are not reconciled to their defeat, and struggle still goes on. As Lu Hsün put it: "Rumor-mongers are utterly shameless and deceitful. Once facts show that they lie, they lie low, and there comes another group of rumor-mongers." ("Let Us Not Be Deceived Anymore," Southern Tone and North Tune Collection) All revolutionary comrades must fully recognize the protracted and complex nature of class struggle, brighten their eyes, heighten their vigilance, and must not be taken in by any rumor. Those counter-revolutionary political rumors must strictly be tracked down, and resolute blows must be dealt to a handful of counter-revolutionaries who fabricate rumors.

Class struggle does not change according to man's will. Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing refuses to accept education and help from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and stubbornly sticks to his reactionary stand, the nature of his problem has turned into that of an antagonistic contradiction. Having discussed the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's recent behavior and on the proposal of the great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee decided to dismiss Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts inside and outside the Party. This has greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the arrogance of class enemies. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and a great victory in repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This wise policy adopted by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee will surely bring about a new upsurge in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind. Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people, and there is no way out for regression. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals will never allow Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, to stage a comeback. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we must further develop the excellent situation of the revolution, firmly keep to the general orientation of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and carry through to the end the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

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Two Short Commentaries

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

"Memory" and "Nature"

by

Poor and Lower-Middle Peasant Commentators Group,
Sanchüehts'un Production Brigade,
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Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, once made this remark: "Forget all those problems during the great cultural revolution. Don't think of them, and don't mention them. My memory is bad, I've forgotten them all." Hear, hear. This is a sinister remark aimed at venting his deep-seated grievances on the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Does Teng Hsiao-p'ing really have "a bad memory" and has he "forgotten" all those problems in the great cultural revolution? Certainly not. Just as the injured wolf cannot forget the hunter's gun or the landlord and money-lender cannot forget the land reform movement, how can Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who represents the bourgeois interests, refrain from hating and forget the great proletarian cultural revolution, "a great political revolution waged by the proletarian against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes"? As a matter of fact, after he went back to work, scarcely a day passed without his creating reactionary public opinion to attack the great cultural revolution either through reports he delivered and conversations he had with others or through articles concocted by others on his order. Scarcely a day passed without his calculating to overthrow the decisions of the great cultural revolution and to push the revisionist line anew. The great proletarian cultural revolution crushed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, with the main target focused on Party persons in power taking the capitalist road and ferreting out a handful of renegades, secret agents and other counter-revolutionaries. Since he was unable to forget, once he grabbed a part of power, he vainly attempted, on the excuse of "readjustment," to bring those persons back to power and to degrade all young cadres who were tempered and matured during the great cultural revolution. Is this what he meant by "forget"? In the cultural revolution the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was criticized and some parts of the superstructure which were incompatible with the socialist economic base were reformed. Yet, once he had the opportunity, he brusquely denounced the new socialist things and denigrated them in all possible ways. He said that the educational revolution meant "not reading books," that "tickets cannot be sold" for revolutionary model theatrical performances, that barefoot doctors had "a low level," that "we can't reach the sky by a single step," and so on and so forth. He would not be pleased until he had strangled all these new things, and he vainly tried to restore the revisionist trash all around. Is this what he meant by "forget"? Teng's own acts punctured his own lies. When he made such remarks as "forget all," "don't think" and "don't mention," what he wanted was merely to conceal the truth so he might pretend to be an honest man and make a comeback at the first opportunity. Since ancient times all

restorationist maniacs of declining classes, when they were attacked, invariably resorted to the counter-revolutionary strategy of retreating in order to advance and of coiling up in order to extend. Lord Chien, a slave-owning noble in the state of Ch'in, was punished for his opposition to Shang Yang's reform. He "cloistered himself" for eight years and seemed to "forget" what had been done to him. But once Duke Hsiao of Ch'in died, he immediately launched a counter-attack in revenge and had Shang Yang, the reformer of the newly rising landlord class, tortured to death by tearing him into pieces by four horses. Inside the Soviet Communist Party (B) Trotsky and Zinoviev formed an anti-Party alliance in opposition to Leninism. After they were criticized, they publicly admitted in Pravda that their "acts are absolutely wrong," and seemed to concede defeat and "repent." But, not long afterward, they conducted a frenzied counter-offensive and finally staged a reactionary demonstration in Moscow. Teng Hsiao-p'ing employed the same tricks.

However, does Teng Hsiao-p'ing remember all those problems in the great cultural revolution? Also no. Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee many times educated him and tried to save him, but he "forgot" this. The revolutionary masses criticized and helped him in the cultural revolution, but he also "forgot" this. In those days, he swore again and again and wrote one self-examination after another to express his "sincerity," pledging "never to reverse verdicts" and to "repent and start a new life." But, not long afterward, he "forgot" all what he said and wrote. For instance, in one self-examination he said: "On the question of attitude toward class struggle" "my thinking was inclined toward the Right." But when he took up work again, he declared, "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" See how he ate his own words. This is not because his "memory is bad," but because his bourgeois nature can hardly change. What he "forgot" and what he did not "forget" were determined not by his "memory," but by the nature of that class he represents. Though overthrown, the exploiting classes invariably refuse to admit defeat and always continue to have trials of strength with the people. Today, the counter-revolutionary political incident engineered by a handful of class enemies at Tienanmen Square and their vain attempt to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as their Nagy have once more told us that the nature of the bourgeoisie can hardly change and the chieftain of the opportunist line also can hardly change.

We the proletariat and the laboring people will never forget the great cultural revolution. It not only provides us with the experience of struggle against the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also supplies a good classroom in which the vast numbers of cadres and the masses can be taught to persist in continuing the revolution and in combating and preventing revisionism. During the cultural revolution old cadres renewed their revolutionary youthfulness and young cadres obtained very good training. The same goes for the cadres in our brigade. Some cadres who once committed mistakes frequently recall the great cultural revolution and from the bottom of their hearts are truly grateful for it. For it educated and saved them, and from it they have drawn their strength and inspiration for struggle and driving themselves harder. Therefore, in the three great revolutionary movements they are full of vitality and continue to make new contributions to socialist revolution and construction. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, has

"forgotten" all about the great cultural revolution, and in effect, he wants us to forget our struggle against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and the capitalist roaders, forget criticism of the ideas of bourgeois rights and restriction of such rights, in a word, to forget the great achievements and fundamental experiences of the great cultural revolution. These experiences are precisely precious asset of the proletarian revolution and consistute a magic wand for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the vast numbers of cadres and the masses will never be taken in but will firmly refute all fallacies aimed at negating the cultural revolution and resolutely consolidate and develop the great achievements of the cultural revolution. The more energetically enemies try to attack the cultural revolution, the greater the effort we must make to sing the praises of the cultural revolution, write about it and record it in the historical annals. History has already proved, and will continue to prove, that the great proletarian cultural revolution not only will never be "forgotten" by the proletariat and the laboring people; on the contrary, following the unceasing deepening of socialist revolution, people's understanding of it will continue to increase with each passing day and its major significance in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat will also be increasingly manifested.

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What Does "Relative Reliance" Mean?

by

Worker Commentators Group of Tsinan
Locomotive Plant

One day in September 1975, when the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts stirred up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was blowing violently, Teng again uttered his absurdities at a conference examining the report on the work of the Academy of Sciences. When he came to the readjustment of leading groups, he repeatedly stressed the need for reliance on technical personnel with a "high level and knowledge" and to have them as leaders. Dealing with the readjustment of factories and enterprises, he again stressed the need to have technical personnel who took the "white and expert" road "elevated to leading posts." He even wanted to mobilize the "positive factors" of "prisoners of labor reform camps." See how frenzied he has become in his counter-attack in revenge! Especially he found a "theoretical basis" for his practice, namely --

"Emphasis on reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative."

Where does this "theoretical basis" come from? Teng's sinister remarks of course cannot be found from Marxist works. But we workers, peasants and soldiers are familiar with these remarks for they are the reproduction of Liu Shao-ch'i's sinister remarks. Way back to the early days of the liberation, Liu Shao-ch'i opposed the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "Wholeheartedly rely on the working class" ("Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") and alleged absurdly that the working class "generally speaking, is reliable," but sometimes

it was "unreliable." "It must not be thought that relying on the working class will not give rise to problems." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who did not study nor carry out Marxist-Leninist instructions and Chairman Mao's teachings, was nevertheless quite conversant with the fallacies of his revisionist partner, even though he did not have to study them. Both he and Liu Shao-ch'i were the bourgeoisie within the Party, power-holders taking the capitalist road; both were sworn enemies of workers, peasants and soldiers, and it was by no means strange that they echoed with each other.

When did Teng Hsiao-p'ing rely on the workers, peasants and soldiers, even if "relatively"? He didn't talk about that, nor did we see him doing that. The fact we see is this: on the industrial and communications front, he attacked reliance on workers' participation in management as disrupting the order of enterprises, and vainly attempted to re-impose "control, checks and coercion" on workers. In the countryside, he attacked the right of poor and lower-middle peasants to run medical and health facilities as an illusion of "reaching the sky by a single step." In educational circles he denied the achievements made by the working class and poor and lower-middle peasants in administering schools and objected to recruiting university students from among workers, peasants and soldiers. In addition, he objected to promoting cadres from workers, peasants and soldiers..... These facts tell us that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's so-called "relative reliance" is merely a hoax; "absolute" non-reliance and objection to reliance are what he originally intended.

On whom does he rely after rejecting reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers? During the socialist period marked by the violent struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to reject reliance on the working class and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers will inevitably result in reliance on the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Teng Hsiao-p'ing does just that. It is not now that he clamors for "relying" on the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. As early as the early days of the founding of the PRC, he lauded the "Chinese bourgeoisie.....having techniques," alleging that the proletariat "is not as good as the bourgeoisie," "we must rely" on bourgeois intellectuals and "they also can be counted on." He also tried to have landlords, rich peasants and even members of the home-going contingent "join the trade unions" so as to let them sneak into the working class ranks. These reactionary ideas of his have persisted down to this day without being changed a little bit. For example, at that conference mentioned at the beginning of this article, didn't he utter the nonsense flattering and calling for reliance on bourgeois intellectuals? The only difference is that he now did this more nakedly and more blatantly. It is thus not difficult to understand why a handful of class enemies openly hoisted the banner of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the recent counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. The truth is that Teng is the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. What a wise decision for the Party Central Committee to promptly dismiss him from all his posts both inside and outside the Party! Otherwise, if he were allowed to usurp the Party's leading posts and the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and all freaks and demons were allowed to come out together, then, as Chairman Mao has warned us, "before long, in several years or more than ten years or several decades

at most, nationwide counter-revolutionary restoration would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would turn into a revisionist, fascist party, and the whole of China would change color. Comrades, please think of it: what a dangerous situation it would be"!

We are a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class is the leading class. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are masters of the country. As Chairman Mao has taught us, we must "wholeheartedly rely on the working class" and "directly rely on the vast revolutionary masses of the people." We must unswervingly do so throughout the historical period of socialism; there is no room for ambivalance or even a half percent discount. As determined by their class status, workers, peasants and soldiers must always continue the revolution. They deeply understand what capitalist restoration can mean. They are most resentful of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, of the power-holders who take the capitalist road practicing revisionism. They are most obedient to Chairman Mao and most enthusiastic in taking the socialist road. Only by relying on them can we truly combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, they are also the wisest, most capable and have the richest practical experience. Very often people at the lower level are wiser than those at the higher level, and the masses are wiser than the leaders. By relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers, we shall have inexhaustible wisdom and strength and shall be able to push socialist revolution and construction unceasingly forward until we finally vanquish the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize our great ideal -- communism.

Workers, peasants and soldiers make up the bulk of the population. Those who oppose the workers, peasants and soldiers are extremely isolated, nor will they have a good end. Liu Shao-ch'i sensed by instinct that relying on the working class "gives rise to problems." Problems indeed there were for that class he represented and for that revisionist line of his. It is precisely under the wise leadership of great leader Chairman Mao, by relying on the working class and on the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers that we launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, dealt stunning blows to the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and completely crushed that counter-revolutionary line of his. Now, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is singing Liu Shao-ch'i's old tune. Can it be that the end of his revisionist line will be a bit better than that of Liu Shao-ch'i?

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Firmly Grasp Class Struggle as the Key Link

by

Tachai Brigade Party Branch

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

Under the excellent situation marked by the vigorous development of the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, on the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, unanimously adopted the resolution appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to be First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, and the resolution dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all his posts both inside and outside the Party. This is an important measure taken by Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee for combating and preventing revisionism, a brilliant and wise decision guaranteeing that the Party and the state will continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a great victory in striking back at the Right deviationist wind. Both the Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants in our brigade firmly support these two important resolutions of the CCP Central Committee.

The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square is a direct product of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his blatant attempt to reverse verdicts and practice restoration. It told us how acute and complex class struggle is throughout the historical period of socialism. At the same time, it also told us that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's vicious aim in promoting the theory of the dying out of class struggle is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Never forget classes and class struggle," "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we must raise our vigilance, firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle, deeply criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, fight bravely and advance in the flush of victory so as to strive for still greater victories.

In criticizing the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin pointed out: "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 200) It is precisely on this cardinal point that Teng Hsiao-p'ing denies class struggle. As early as when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed, he already followed Liu Shao-ch'i in advocating that "since classes have basically died out, it is inappropriate to emphasize class struggle." Not long after he resumed work, he could not wait to concoct a revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," negating class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic line. He openly attacked Chairman Mao's instructions, frenziedly yelling: "How can we remind ourselves of class struggle every day?" This fully exposes his reactionary nature of betraying Marxism.

In criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao commented: "In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" What Chairman Mao said here is an immutable truth, deeply engrained in the hearts of poor and lower-middle peasants. Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocates the dying out of class struggle, but has it died out? Not at all. Take our Tachai for example. When did the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie cease since agricultural cooperativization, not to mention the sharp struggle against the landlords and rich peasants before and after the land reform? Which of Tachai's achievements was not made in the violent storm of class struggle? Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, we were able to scale one peak after another on the journey of continuing the revolution and bring about changes in man's mentality, land productivity and in volume of output, the most basic reason being that we have firmly acted on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, consistently grasped class struggle as the key link, vigorously combated revisionism and capitalism, and boycotted and opposed the interference and sabotage of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

It is breathtaking to look back on this period of class struggle.

In 1957, shortly after Teng Hsiao-p'ing trumpeted "it is inappropriate to emphasize class struggle," the bourgeois Rightists mounted a frenzied attack on the Party and socialism. In our Tachai too, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements jumped out together to oppose the leadership of the Party and agricultural cooperativization in a vain attempt to go back to the capitalist road. Adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we unfolded a tit-for-tat struggle against these class enemies and smashed their attacks. The revolution aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the brigade members and accelerated Tachai's pace of advance on the socialist path.

From 1960 to 1962, a period which saw our country beset with temporary difficulties caused by natural calamities and the perfidy of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in tearing up contracts and recalling its experts, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, echoing with Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, called for "fixing production quotas based on the household," yelling "it doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white, it is a good cat so long as it catches mice" and attempting to restore capitalism in the countryside. For a time the capitalist evil wind of san-tzu-i-pao was rampant. Unshakened, we led the masses to keep to the socialist road. In this period, we did not sell one catty of straw or grain at a high price. Resisting the capitalist evil wind and promoting the communist style of work, we relied on ourselves and worked hard to consolidate and strengthen the socialist collective economy.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a major political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Through struggle, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were crushed, their counter-revolutionary revisionist lines were deeply criticized, and great victories were won. However, class struggle did not come to an end. We firmly kept in mind the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "never forget classes and class struggle." After the close of the 10th Party Congress, persisting in taking class struggle as the key link and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we unfolded a struggle against political restoration, ideological corruption, and economic piece-meal encroachment. Consequently, we discovered that even in an advanced production brigade like ours, it was not all peaceful and quiet, there was still class struggle, some people still took the capitalist road, and among the Party members and cadres some represented the interests of the bourgeoisie. We could continue to advance only by grasping class struggle well.

Last year could be said to be a year of intense class struggle in Tachai. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing advocated anew the theory of the dying out of class struggle and whipped up the Right deviationist wind, we worked against his revisionist line. With Teng trying to sabotage the study of theory, our Party branch led the masses to persist in studying Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory and the theses of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. While looking back on and summing up the history of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines since the agrarian reform and looking at conditions today, we further strengthened the all-round proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. With Teng attacking and opposing the discussion and criticism of Water Margin, our Party branch mobilized the masses to discuss and criticize the novel and sum up the experience of class struggle, thus enabling both cadres and masses to recognize capitulationists and the extreme danger of the rise of Sung Chiang-type landlord and bourgeois agents within the Party. With Teng objecting to the restriction of bourgeois rights, our Party branch mobilized the masses to carry out an all-round summing up of the experience of the struggle to restrict bourgeois rights and develop mass criticism of the ideas of bourgeois rights, thereby urging both cadres and the masses to become fighters consciously restricting bourgeois rights and striving to dig up the soil breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie. When Teng concocted the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and advocated the theory of productive forces, our Party branch, adhering to taking class struggle as the key link, further developed the struggle to criticize revisionism and capitalism, purifying the Party organization and increasing the combat power of the Party branch. Because Teng opposed new socialist things and repressed new revolutionary forces, our Party branch mobilized the masses to criticize conservative ideas, support the new forces, and further strengthen the unity in fighting of the three-in-one leading groups combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. Thanks to our serious study of a series of instructions given by Chairman Mao and our adherence to the basic line of the Party, the Right deviationist wind whipped up by Teng could not affect Tachai. On the contrary, in the course of struggle we further raised our consciousness of class and line struggles. The moment

Chairman Mao initiated and directed the struggle to strike back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we were able more consciously to follow the plans of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and positively plunge into this great struggle.

The practice of class struggle clearly tells us that socialist society is no "jewelled palace in elfland's hills," but a society with classes, class contradictions and class struggle. In the countryside, after the cooperative transformation of agriculture, a life-and-death struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road has raged on, instead of "everything belonging to the public and Tom, Dick and Harry belonging to one family." By cooking up "three directives as the key link" and calling for placing "four modernizations" above all else, Teng Hsiao-p'ing aims at abolishing class struggle as the key link and binding our hands and feet so that the bourgeoisie may smoothly restore. Isn't this fact clear to all? Otherwise, why is it that when the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind initiated and led by Chairman Mao exposed Teng's reactionary features, a handful of class enemies became so uneasy and, like a frightened dog jumping over the wall, engineered the serious counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square?

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Chairman Mao also commented: "He knows nothing about Marxism-Leninism; he represents the bourgeoisie." Chairman Mao's important instructions profoundly analyzed the law of class struggle in the historical period of socialism and exposed Teng's bourgeois reactionary character. Everything is divided into two, and "there are parties outside the party and factions within the party; this has always been so." There are a handful of people within the Party who have never been proletarian revolutionaries but are bourgeois democrats, and when they themselves come under fire with the socialist revolution, they will stand on the opposite side of the masses and turn into bourgeois representative defending bourgeois rights and suppressing the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals. They will become restorationists and capitalist roaders and struggle against the proletariat on behalf of bourgeois interests. We in Tachai understand this question most profoundly. Since the stage of socialist revolution set in, although overthrown, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements are still around in society, resistance to Tachai's advance has stemmed mainly from inside the Party, from the bourgeoisie within the Party. The moment a cooperative was set up in Tachai, it ran into obstruction from the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, power-holder taking the capitalist road within the Party. In 1964, Liu Shao-ch'i again took advantage of the "four clean-ups" and did his utmost to destroy Tachai. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is no different from Liu Shao-ch'i. When whipping

up the Right-deviationist wind to reverse verdicts last year, he distorted Tachai's basic experience and said nothing about class struggle and the two-line struggle. Instead, he advocated the theory of productive forces and sabotaged the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. All of this tells clearly us that the bourgeoisie within the Party in restoring capitalism by making use of the power in their hands are far more dangerous than the bourgeoisie in society.

After dissecting Teng's crimes in reversing verdicts and restoring capitalism and looking back on the practice of class struggle in Tachai over the past 30 years, we have realized still more profoundly how brilliant and correct Chairman Mao's teachings are about the bourgeoisie being right in the Party and capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road! The capitalist roaders within the Party represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. They push a revisionist line, protect and extend bourgeois rights, and attempt to turn socialism into capitalism. These people are more dangerous than capitalists.

When dealing with the life-and-death struggle between the two major opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, Chairman Mao pointed out: "This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party for at least twenty years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will not cease until classes die out completely." This is an absolute truth. As we often say, Tachai's victories come from struggle, ceaseless struggle. Struggle is the powerful motive force for the development of socialist society; it is a guarantee for victories in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and it is the only means to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Promoting reconciliation and harmony between classes and class capitulation can lead only to restoration and regression. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, maliciously attacks and smears the class and line struggles carried out by our Party, alleging that they would "hurt" old workers and experienced cadres. This is an overt negation of the various major class and line struggles carried out by our Party, and another hoax to deceive people.

Do revolution, class struggle and the struggle between the two lines waged by the proletariat and poor and lower-middle peasants hurt a handful of people who oppose the revolution? Yes, they do, according to the practice of class struggle. They hurt revisionism, capitalism, the bourgeoisie within the Party, capitalist roaders, and chieftains of the opportunist lines like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in restoring capitalism. Is it right to hurt them? Absolutely right! Is it good to hurt them? Absolutely good. If they are not hurt, what is socialist revolution for? After cooperativization was achieved, a Party member in Tachai started to put on airs the moment he became a production team leader, and would soon turn into a "village chief" of the old society as the cooperative members said of him. After the Party branch found that this production team leader had become a bureaucrat instead of continuing the revolution, it launched criticism against his mistakes in the Party. This harshly "hurt" his bourgeois thinking and also the bourgeois influence inside the Party, and enabled all Party members to understand that cadres were likely to turn into exploiters unless they persisted in taking part in collective productive labor. We

then devised a system under which a Party member on becoming a cadre must take part in collective productive labor for not less than 300 man-days a year. What's wrong about "hurting" them in this way? When the "four clean-up" movement was launched in 1964, both cadres and commune members in Tachai warmly approved of and firmly supported it, and welcomed the "four clean-up" work team into the village by beating gongs and drums. However, this work team did not carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but pushed Liu Shao-ch'i's "T'aoyüan experience." On moving into the village, it ignored the poor and lower-middle peasants, recruited several people with problems and fabricated rumors to confound right and wrong. In a few days time, all the reserve grain stocks built up by the brigade over the years were distributed. In addition, they said, "the pole of Tachai's red flag is biten by worms." Shouldn't we "hurt" Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line pushed by the "four clean-up" work team? We thought it highly necessary to oppose and hurt it. Without doing so, we would not be able to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolution would regress and capitalism would be restored.

Most of our cadres, including the old ones, having been tested in a long period of revolutionary struggle and educated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, are willing to make revolution. Provided we persist in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and various proletarian policies and correctly differentiate and handle the two different types of contradictions, we will never hurt those truly revolutionary and experienced old cadres. Even if they have committed this or that mistake, so long as they are willing to mend their way, we must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and through criticism and self-criticism, educate and help them, so that they may improve themselves and keep on making revolution. In our brigade there was a Party member who was one of the responsible members of the Party branch during the land reform, and he was an old cadre. This comrade wanted to make revolution, but for his mistakes, he was criticized by his comrades and the masses during the movement. This helped him more quickly to correct his mistakes and become a good comrade. Practice proves that old cadres are not hurt when they are tempered, educated, and made to remold their world outlook in mass movements. On the contrary, they will receive stimulus to get on with the revolution, and what they will lose in the mass movement is the bourgeois stand and old concepts while what they will gain is the proletarian stand and a revolutionary world outlook. By attacking the past political movements for "hurting" old cadres and old workers, Teng Hsiao-p'ing deliberately tries to confound black and white and stir up ill-feelings, and his sinister aim is merely to bind the revolutionary masses hand and foot and protect the capitalist roaders within the Party in the name of "old cadres" and "old workers." However, the masses and cadres armed with Mao Tsetung Thought have sharp eyes, and his schemes will never succeed.

Class struggle in the historical period of socialism remains protracted and complex, and at times it may be very acute. We must never give up class struggle. No rumor or charge trumped up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing can shake our determination to struggle. For 30 years our Tachai has lived by

Class Struggle Has Never Died Out

by

Wu Ch'üan-ch'ing (吳全清)
"Iron Driller" of Tach'ing Oilfield

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

In accordance with the proposal of great leader Chairman Mao, the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee unanimously approved the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and as Premier of the State Council and the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts inside and outside the Party. These wise resolutions by Chairman Mao and the CCP Central Committee have expressed the desire of the whole Party, whole army and people throughout the country and say what is in the hearts of our working class. These are great measures which guarantee that our Party will continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they represent a great victory in the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. In the days of celebrating this victory, red flags flutter everywhere over the broad expanse of the Tach'ing Oilfield midst angry waves of mass criticism. Everyone express their resolve to support the two resolutions of the CCP Central Committee, angrily condemn Teng Hsiaop'ing's crime of vainly attempting to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism, and angrily condemn the criminal activities carried out by a small handful of counter-revolutionary elements in Tienanmen Square. They are determined to foster the "Iron Man" spirit, continue to go forward in triumph, and carry through to the end the great struggle to criticize Teng and hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, like other chieftains of the opportunist line, has consistently practiced revisionism and has never been a Marxist. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, he ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i to carry out a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Not long after he returned to work, he hurriedly rushed out with the revisionist program to "take the three directives as the key link," denied class struggle as the key link, negated the Party's basic line, sabotaged the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and launched a ferocious attack on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To leaf back through his history and to look at him now, we can see that Teng, like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, represents the bourgeois hope for restoration, always pushes the theory that class struggle is dying out and opposes the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Our workers at Tach'ing remember very clearly that it was in 1964, just as people throughout the country were unfolding a broad socialist education movement on various fronts to take class struggle as the key link under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, that Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the No. 2 man in Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters, rushed to Tach'ing and nonsensically said: "Your Tach'ing is different from other places and you need not speak of class struggle as the main contradiction." He flagrantly opposed Chairman Mao's teaching on classes and class struggle and vainly tried to quench this struggle against the bourgeoisie and turn socialist Tach'ing onto an evil road.

In the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, everyone unanimously pointed out that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the general representative of a small handful of class enemies and of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. Our Tach'ing working class has resolved not to co-exist with revisionism but to ceaselessly attack the bourgeoisie; we must continue to more penetratingly criticize his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and thoroughly strip away its disguise.

What, after all, is the main contradiction in socialist society? As far back as the eve of nationwide liberation, at the Second Plenum of the Seventh Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out that after nationwide liberation, the main contradiction internally would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." For more than 20 years, all our country's people, in accord with Chairman Mao's teaching, have continued to take class struggle as the key link and have consistently implemented the Party's basic line; they have penetratingly developed the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and have constantly won new victories in socialist revolution and construction. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our Tach'ing's construction and development have taken place in the course of the continual deepening of socialist revolution. The history of major battles at Tach'ing has precisely been that of the proletariat constantly defeating the bourgeoisie, Marxism constantly defeating revisionism, and socialism constantly defeating capitalism. Classes and class struggle do exist objectively. Looking back over the history of struggle in major battles at Tach'ing, was there ever a day when we did not have to advance in struggle against the bourgeoisie?

The difficulties were many and contradictions innumerable in Tach'ing's major battles 16 years ago. Internationally, imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries stirred up vicious anti-China waves; internally, Liu Shao-ch'i fanned up the evil wind "to dismount." Coupled with the natural calamities, the struggles were extremely sharp. Faced with such struggles, Tach'ing's working class, as symbolized by Iron Man Wang Chin-hsi, seriously studied "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." Using Mao Tsetung Thought to analyze the struggle situation and the various contradictions, they resoundingly replied: Whether there are 1,000 or 10,000 contradictions, the main contradiction is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Taking firm hold of class struggle as the key link, we adhered to the "Anshan Constitution"; we worked out our own road for industrial development and finally seized upon a large oilfield of high quality and at great speed.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is a great political revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Obeying Chairman Mao's strategic deployment, Tach'ing actively plunged into the struggle to smash the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, profoundly criticized the revisionist line and settled accounts with their criminal attempts to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. It was precisely during this great struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that we raised our consciousness of class struggle, line struggle and continuing the revolution and studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a still more penetrating mass movement. Profound changes have taken place in the spheres of the superstructure, which have spurred production and

construction in the oilfields and made the Tach'ing of today equivalent to six Tach'ings before the great cultural revolution.

Under circumstances where we are constantly winning victories in revolution and construction, can it be that class struggle is dying out and the bourgeoisie will no longer attack us? Absolutely not. Because the revisionist poison of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao still hasn't been eradicated, the struggle in oilfield construction over the last several years as to whether or not to continue implementing the "Anshan Constitution," to persist in the "two theories" for founding enterprises and whether to hold to the road of Chairman Mao's guidance in running enterprises is still very acute. Some people say that since Tach'ing has already been built for more than 10 years, the irregular ways we did things in major campaigns in the past are no longer appropriate and we ought to do things one step at a time. There are also people who have taken to the easy life and are no longer willing to continue with plain living and hard work. Bourgeois thinking corrodes our ranks and a small handful of class enemies seize the opportunity to commit sabotage and create disturbances. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie over whether to insist on progress or on restoration and regression has gone on fiercely every step of the way.

"Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." From their personal experience, our Tach'ing working class has come to deeply understand this to be absolutely true. Throughout the transition period class contradictions exist, and so do class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the two-road struggle between socialism and capitalism. If we had not persisted in criticizing revisionism and capitalism, how could we have developed the Tach'ing we have today! Class struggle and line struggle at Tach'ing have stood out prominently and they have been taken hold of prominently. The facts of struggle at Tach'ing's oilfield have once more effectively demonstrated just how correct our Party's basic theory and practice have been in taking class struggle as the key link over the past twenty years and more! It is impossible for the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing to use the theory on dying out of class struggle to distort and tamper with these historical facts.

Tach'ing is a red banner planted by Chairman Mao. Practice at Tach'ing has consistently followed the "Anshan Constitution," and is in accord with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; we have held to class struggle as the key link, built enterprises painstakingly, relied on our own efforts and taken our own path to industrial development. But the capitalist roaders practicing revisionism within the Party are bound to distort or negate the most basic aspects of the Tach'ing experience and in every conceivable way. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao did that, and so has Teng Hsiao-p'ing. They wanted to cut down Tach'ing's red banner and tried to block its advance with the theory of class struggle dying out and the theory of productive forces; they also wanted to lead our nation's industrial development into the revisionist orbit, divorcing it from the socialist orientation. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts last year, didn't he use "everything for modernization" as a pretext while blustering about everywhere that "problems are many," "difficulties are mounting" and "adjustment" was necessary? To put it bluntly, his so-called

"adjustment" was a demand that we abandon the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and "adjust" our industrial enterprises to the style of capitalist and Soviet revisionist enterprises. This is wishful thinking. That he ganged up with Liu Shao-ch'i to push a revisionist line before the great cultural revolution is still fresh in our memory. Historical experience has helped us understand profoundly that a socialist enterprise is by no means only a production unit, but is first of all a front for consolidating proletarian dictatorship. On the question of orientation and road for running enterprises, if it is divorced from taking class struggle as the key link and discards proletarian politics in command, an enterprise may then turn down a bad road. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing nonsensically said that class struggle was not the main contradiction at Tach'ing, his malicious intent was to paralyze our will to fight and smooth the way for him to practice restoration and regression. Armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, the Tach'ing working class is not afraid of devils, does not believe in evil, does not worship or have blind faith in things foreign, nor can it be intimidated. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link and rush forth to brave the storms of class struggle.

Class struggle and line struggle have been a strong motive force in constructing and developing Tach'ing. For many years the plan we have adhered to at Tach'ing for "grasping revolution and promoting production," has been as follows: In developing the economy, not to forget proletarian politics in command; in production, not to forget class struggle in the spheres of the superstructure; in promoting modernization, not to forget, first of all, to revolutionize people's thinking. In our efforts to train a contingent for opposing and guarding against revisionism in the Iron-Man style, every year we mobilize the broad masses of staff, workers and family dependents to discuss the actual state of class struggle and line struggle; starting with class bitterness of the past, we recall the past, contrast it with the present and carry out large-scale and concentrated education in the Party's basic line. At present, the staff, workers and family dependents at our oilfield have set up a record of recollections of suffering from exploitation and oppression in the old society, and a happiness record of our discussions as masters of the house. We often turn over these two records to think over the bitterness of the old society and view the sweetness of the new; then we will not forget the important matter of opposing and guarding against revisionism nor relax our sense of militancy in doing battle against revisionism. We are resolved to wage class struggle forever, to zealously continue the revolution and to continue fostering the Iron-Man spirit of struggling against heaven and earth, against class enemies and against erroneous practices so as to develop our nation's petroleum industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Chairman Mao's directives on theoretical questions have clearly pointed out the way for us to continue revolution under proletarian dictatorship. So that we may clearly understand the question of why we must oppose bourgeois dictatorship, we have unfolded broad and penetrating mass debates since last year on "How to keep Tach'ing's red banner from changing color." Both inside and outside the Party, from cadres to workers and staff employees to dependents, everyone has taken firm hold of the idea

that the main contradiction in the socialist historical stage is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Concentrating on the basic question of opposing and guarding against revisionism, we have recalled the history of campaigns over the past ten years and more, summed up experience in two-line struggle, and come to further understand the protracted and complex nature of class and line struggles. Everyone has come to realize, after analyzing the arguments, that Tach'ing's revolution and construction have won great victories under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, but that to eradicate the revisionist influence of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their like, we must continue to penetratingly develop revolutionary mass criticism. Tach'ing grasps class struggle every year, but the struggle between the two roads and the two classes in the political, ideological and economic spheres still exists and the fighting will go on for a long time. New things at Tach'ing have steadily matured in the course of mass criticism during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, but to carry the socialist revolution in the spheres of the superstructure through to the end and to consolidate and develop the victories won in the great cultural revolution, we must still make a long-term effort. Tach'ing has initially established a new-type mining zone that combines industry with agriculture and urban life with rural life, but to gradually reduce the three major differences, we must still persist in waging a protracted struggle. In a word, we have come to realize that the soil and conditions for producing capitalism exist all the same at Tach'ing and class struggle will not subside. Chairman Mao's teaching "Never forget classes and class struggle" is guiding us to brave the wind and waves and to go forward in victory. With Teng Hsiao-p'ing whipping up a Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we have not been blown off course nor lost our bearings but have stayed with what Chairman Mao has taught us all along; we have persisted in placing study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship in first place, kept firm hold on taking class struggle as the key link and have continued to develop the excellent situation in revolution and production.

"Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, wants to reverse verdicts, practices restoration and moves against the tides of history; in the end, he will succeed in lifting a rock only to drop it on his own feet. In the struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, our working class and revolutionary people have become still more tempered. Since the beginning of the year, every extraction team in our oilfield has held study sessions to seriously study Chairman Mao's series of important directives. With revolutionary mass criticism deepening step by step, crude oil production plans have been overfulfilled month after month. On the eve of "May First" celebrating International Labor Day, we resolve to still more actively plunge into the great struggle to hit back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, firmly grasp the main orientation in the struggle to criticize Teng, still more fiercely grasp revolution and promote production, perform actual deeds to safeguard Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and develop the fruits of the great cultural revolution, in order to make still greater contributions to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

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Vow to Be the Strong Pillar of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

Party Branch of 6th Company of a Certain
Peking Garrison Unit

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

We army guards standing by the side of Chairman Mao resolutely support the resolution of the CCP Central Committee on the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council and the resolution on dismissing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party. Over the past few days, we have called meetings to discuss these resolutions, denounce Teng's crimes and take oaths to fight to the last. We have written articles of criticism, revolutionary poems and songs, and letters of pledge, angrily condemning the crimes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, and a handful of class enemies and warmly singing the praises of the great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! The commanders and fighters of the whole company unanimously vow to be the strong pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our company took part in the struggle to crush the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. We witnessed the atrocity of a handful of class enemies who provoked this incident. We saw how the worker-militia and the people's police, with the support of the revolutionary masses, fought bravely in defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The breath-taking class struggle gave us a live lesson on class struggle, enabling us to further understand the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalist restoration. We realized that only by strengthening the unity between the army and the people is it possible to effectively strike at the sabotage and disturbances by a handful of class enemies and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The magnificent Tienanmen is the symbol of our great socialist motherland, a venue where people of all nationalities in the country are proud to gather. Here, the great leader Chairman Mao presided over the inauguration of the PRC, hoisted the first five-star red flag, and declared the establishment of socialist new China under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here, Chairman Mao eight times reviewed the Red Guards and the revolutionary masses, igniting the flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Here, many times Chairman Mao, wearing his green army uniform, joined us fighters in celebrating festivals. Every time we remind ourselves of these scenes, we have a greater love for the majestic Tienanmen and a deeper realization of our heavy responsibility of protecting the capital. However, a handful of counter-revolutionaries had the audacity to commit crimes and caused an incident at the solemn Tienanmen Square, and blatantly attacked our great leader Chairman Mao in a vain attempt to split the Party Central Committee headed by him. How could we army guards tolerate the misdeeds of these reactionaries! To protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central

Committee and the capital of the socialist motherland, we plunged into the battle with full fury the moment we were ordered to do so. In close coordination with the worker-militia and the people's police, we launched a violent counter-attack against this counter-revolutionary gang and completely crushed this counter-revolutionary adverse current. Chairman Mao teaches us: "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield" ("On Coalition Government"). In struggle, we have carried forward the style of fighting bravely, without fear of sacrifices, fatigue and continuous fighting. Although the cadres and fighters did not eat anything for over ten hours on end and did not take any rest, and some comrades were even injured, they still maintained a high fighting spirit. With dauntless heroic spirit, they overwhelmed the arrogance of the class enemies and fully displayed the role of the people's army as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The live lesson on class struggle given us by the Tienanmen Square counter-revolutionary political incident shall never be forgotten. It shows in a profound way that in the socialist period, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is an extremely violent battle of life and death. The bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists will never reconcile themselves to their defeat and will still stage a death-bed struggle. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party declare that he would rig up a "home-going contingent" to "restore the old order"? No wonder that a handful of hooligans who made trouble at Tienanmen Square present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as a black banner for a frenzied attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is a "home-going contingent"? The cadres and fighters of our company were all born in the new society and reared under the red flag. Although we have heard from the older generation about how wicked and cruel the home-going contingent of the landlords was to the poor and lower-middle peasants, we have nevertheless no personal experience and our understanding of it is not deep. The recent counter-revolutionary incident enabled us to see the ferocious features of a handful of class enemies who waged a rabid counter-attack in revenge against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They beat up the worker-militia, people's police, army guards and revolutionary masses in broad daylight, set fire to buildings and cars, and stormed the Great Hall of the People. Weren't the counter-revolutionary acts of these rioters the same as those of the landlord home-going contingent in days gone by? Teng Hsiao-p'ing vigorously spread the theory that class struggle is dying out, saying that class struggle has disappeared. However, he still wanted to rig up a "home-going contingent" to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback. He himself has never ceased to wage class struggle. Like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, he wanted the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie to die out, but not the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. It is thus very clear that a handful of class enemies, by engineering the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, wanted to overthrow the proletariat. We "must never forget classes and class struggle." If we believe in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's nonsense, the masses of laboring people would suffer for a second time and the heads of millions and millions of people would roll. We will never permit Teng Hsiao-p'ing to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat!

By directing their spearhead at the dictatorship of the proletariat, the handful of gangsters who created the incident at Tienanmen Square lay bare their wolfish design to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. Learning from the reactionary tune in Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary coup plan "Outline of 'Project 571'," they shouted "Gone is Ch'in Shih Huang's era." Their reactionary aim was to abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat. With implacable hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat, they tore off the cap and collar insignia from our army guards, threw the caps of the people's police into the air, and rounded up and assaulted the worker-militiamen, people's policemen and army guards. What is even more abominable is that several hooligans, using provocative language, threatened the army guards and asked them to lower the five-star red flag that represents our socialist motherland. How arrogant they were in their vain attempt to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat! However, this handful of class enemies who opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat were utterly isolated. To the victorious people, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a protective talisman, "something, like food and clothing, victorious people cannot do without for even a moment." Before the thorough and total abolition of reaction at home and abroad, "this talisman should under no circumstances be discarded." ("Why Is It Necessary to Discuss the White Paper") The more viciously a handful of class enemies attack and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more thoroughly they will expose themselves and the more clearly the masses of people will recognize their reactionary features. As we have seen, the counter-revolutionary acts of these gangsters were denounced wrathfully by the revolutionary masses on spot. After hearing Comrade Wu Te's broadcast speech, certain people who had been taken in recognized the truth of the matter. Some immediately left the Square, others joined the counter-offensive. This suffices to show that those who oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat are only a handful of class enemies, and that the masses of people wholeheartedly approve and resolutely support the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, it also shows that our dictatorship of the proletariat is powerful and consolidated, and no enemy can shake it. This battle to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat deeply educated us in the importance of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. As the comrades say, we army guards must protect the dictatorship of the proletariat as we protect the apple of our eyes. If the enemies dare to carry out sabotage and cause trouble, we will smash them to pieces with the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the army and people united as one, who can be their equal in the world? The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square was crushed in just a few hours--this not only demonstrates the might of our dictatorship of the proletariat, but also composes a song of victory for the unity between the army and people in fighting. In the course of the battle to crash this counter-revolutionary riot, the capital's worker-militia and people's police, having a high level of consciousness of class and line struggles, fought at the front. With their lives, they protected the Great Hall of the People and the lives and property of the people, and struck at the enemies' disruptive activities. Their brave struggle greatly inspired our fighting will, making us deeply realize that the

"true bastion of iron" is the masses of people, and this "no force can break." ("Be Concerned with the Well-being of the Masses and Pay Attention to Methods of Work") In the struggle against a handful of class enemies, we also had the firm support of the masses of people. At mid-night, hearing that the people's soldiers had fought continuously for a whole day without eating anything, workers of the Peking Municipal Post Office, despite a day of hard work, prepared dumplings and noodles and sent them to us fighters. Emotionally holding the dumplings, the comrades deeply felt that with the support of the masses of people, we were invincible. The unity between the army and people in fighting threw the class enemies into great panic. The trouble-makers then tried to drive a wedge between the army and people, shouting provocatively: "People's soldiers stand on the side of the people!" "Those who are deceived are innocent!" Such shameless provocations by the class enemies could only make us see more clearly their vulnerability and ugly features. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our army guards have raised their consciousness of class and line struggles and are able to make a clear distinction between what to love and what to hate. At one glance, they saw through the intrigues of the class enemies and refuted them justly. We people's soldiers come from the people and must stand on the side of the people. We must not side with these counter-revolutionaries. We have seen clearly that they are a band of out-and-out counter-revolutionary hooligans, and that only by resolutely crushing their sabotages and disturbances can we really protect the people and win their love and support. We people's soldiers strictly observe the three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention and obey the orders of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee in all our actions. It is our bounden duty to attack and suppress all counter-revolutionary disruptive activities. What is meant by "being deceived" is a sheer slander against us army guards. Faced with the iron bastion of unity between the army and people, a handful of class enemies can only court self-destruction like a few flies bumping the wall. A poem written by us army guards reads: "The army and people are united in fighting the enemy, hard as a bastion of iron and firm as a rock. The hooligans cannot stand a single blow as revolutionary torrents roll onward."

At a time when the people of the whole country are conscientiously studying a series of important directives given by Chairman Mao and penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square is by no means an accidental incident. The ugly performance by a handful of class enemies illustrates by negative example that by criticizing Teng's revisionist line and beating back the Right deviationist wind, we have hit at them where it hurts most and dashed their fond dream of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. Chairman Mao says: "We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports" ("Interview with Three Correspondents from the Central News Agency, the Sao Tang Pao and the Hsin Min Pao"). The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is a continuation and deepening of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, a major battle between the proletariat and revolutionary people, and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, bearing on the

future and destiny of our Party and state. We army guards standing by the side of Chairman Mao must, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle, carry forward Lu Hsün's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "soundly beating the dog in the water," vigorously criticize Teng's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," and continuously push forward the great struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind. In compliance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we must take class struggle as the key link, hold our guns firmly, raise our revolutionary vigilance, stick to our combat posts, and keep a close watch on the new trends of class struggle. "Obeying orders in all our actions," we must be prepared at all times to smash all conspiratorial and disruptive activities by class enemies and, with concrete action, protect the great leader Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by him, his proletarian revolutionary line and the capital of the great socialist motherland, and win new merit for the people.

* * *

Mao Tsetung Thought Guides Us To Advance Against the Wind

by

Party Branch of Hsiaochinchuang Brigade

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

On the evening of April 7, two resolutions of the Party Central Committee came over the radio, filling Hsiaochinchuang with instant excitement as in other parts of the country. The whole village was astir with resounding cheers. That night a meeting was held to warmly celebrate the great victory in beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of commune members unanimously pledged to resolutely support the resolution of the CCP Central Committee on the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as First Vice Chairman of the CCP Central Committee and Premier of the State Council and the resolution on removing Teng Hsiao-p'ing from all posts both inside and outside the Party. They indignantly denounced the reactionary crimes of the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and the towering crimes of a handful of class enemies who created the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. At this happy moment, we looked back on the militant course of the brigade over the past year. Indescribable emotion filled the minds of cadres and the masses.

Around last summer, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, revealed the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," vigorously whipping up the Right deviationist wind, which blew to Hsiaochinchuang as well. Teng Hsiao-p'ing went to the battle, stripped to his waist, and angrily attacked us, saying: "What's good about Hsiaochinchuang? What appears good to you doesn't appear so to me." He then spread rumors everywhere, such as "Now we learn from Hsiaochinchuang, not from Tachai." Under his instigation, rumors went the rounds everywhere in society, and there were attacks, open and by innuendo. "Hsiaochinchuang is only a flash in the pan. It is finished." "Talking and singing can't produce grain. You can't leap across the 'Yangtze River'." And so on and so forth. Then, speeches which Hsiaochinchuang was to deliver at certain meetings were cancelled; pictures about Hsiaochinchuang on display were taken off; Hsiaochinchuang was not invited to meetings called by some departments. Dark clouds were gathering. Bearing the brunt of the storm, Hsiaochinchuang faced a severe test.

What was to be done? Our Party branch called a succession of meetings when it applied the viewpoint of class struggle to discern the direction of the wind and unify thinking. At conferences of the Party branch committee, the comrades once again studied the Party's basic line and seriously analyzed the purpose of "taking the three directives as the key link" and the nature of the wind that blew in our direction. Having studied Chairman Mao's teachings, everyone said in the course of discussion: The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in socialist society, and whatever we do, the most fundamental thing is to grasp class struggle. Now there are people who say

"the three directives should be taken as the key link." Does this fit in with the Party's basic line? Since the great cultural revolution, our brigade has caught up from behind only because it has grasped class struggle. If we put the "three directives" on an equal footing instead of taking class struggle as the key link, is there any difference from "production first"? In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we energetically unfolded the revolution in the ideological area, changing customs and habits and weeding out the old to let the new emerge. We created "ten new things." These are socialist new things, but why did some people oppose them rabidly? The comrades increasingly felt that "three directives as the key link" was improper and must not be transmitted nor implemented. However strong the evil wind might be, we must stand firm. Its thinking unified, the Party branch immediately organized the Party members, poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members to make a penetrating study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship in the light of class struggle, so as to further distinguish right from wrong in line. By recalling the past and comparing it with the present, they felt with increasing conviction that it was right to wage revolution in the ideological domain and to create the "ten new things." The poor and lower-middle peasants pledged to sharpen their eyes and stand firm so as to repulse the attack by rumors and the wind!

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, maliciously smeared the "ten new things" created by Hsiaochinchuang for the purpose of opposing socialist revolution in the ideological domain and the dictatorship of the proletariat by way of opposing our "ten new things." Marxism holds that while the economic base decides the superstructure, under certain conditions the superstructure in turn plays the primary and decisive role. In socialist society, the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown, and the socio-economic system has undergone fundamental changes. But classes and class struggle still exist, and so do the remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system. The overthrown exploiting classes, unreconciled to their defeat, always make use of these remnants to corrupt and poison people and disrupt socialist revolution in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. If we are to consolidate and develop the socialist system, we must unfold in depth the socialist revolution in the ideological area, and "exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." The "ten new things" created by Hsiaochinchuang in the course of the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius are brand-new achievements resulting from the ideological revolution, and at the same time are effective measures for exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Are the "ten new things" good or not? We poor and lower-middle peasants understand this most clearly.

In the days before the great cultural revolution, the ideological and cultural positions in Hsiaochinchuang were for a long time occupied by the exploiting classes and filled with the rotten feudal, capitalist and revisionist stuff. Only bad plays about emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties were staged, and only bad books like Three Swordsmen and Story of Chi Kung were circulated. The public thinking was affected, capitalism ran rampant. Instead of properly taking

part in collective productive labor, some worked on their own catching fish and shrimps. Some opened up wasteland and kept private plots improperly and encroached on the collective farmland. On occasions of weddings and burials, they held feasts and presented gifts, taking the opportunity to engage in feudal superstitious activities. The atmosphere was stuffy and suffocating. So, during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party branch seriously summed up past experiences and lessons and came to realize that if the proletariat did not occupy the ideological and cultural fronts in the countryside, not only would we fail to adhere to the socialist orientation and consolidate and develop the collective economy, but we might have capitalism restored. In view of this, guided by the Party's basic line, we led the poor and lower-middle peasants to march into the ideological and cultural positions and unfold an in-depth revolution in the ideological sphere to remove all old ideas and culture of the exploiting classes and to foster new ideas and culture of the proletariat, creating "ten new things" shining with the radiance of socialist ideology. The appearance of these "ten new things" brought about a lively political situation in Hsiaochinchuang. Both cadres and the masses go to evening schools, study Marxism-Leninism, write poems and songs, and sing model theatrical works. Profound changes have taken place in their mentality. With the capitalist evil wind suppressed and the righteous socialist spirit prevailing, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been considerably consolidated and the collective economy has developed apace. What kind of people are hostile to and oppose such new socialist things? None but those overthrown landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's condemnation of our "ten new things" has really infuriated us poor and lower-middle peasants! At a criticism meeting, a poor peasant woman said angrily: "We've stood up, and Chairman Mao has given us the right to study culture and theory, write poems and songs and sing model theatrical works. Nobody can take this right away from us." She mounted the rostrum and read out aloud a poem she wrote: "Let the old woman sing a song from the model theatrical works, singing the praises of the heroes and learning from them. The brilliant images are engrained on her mind. The heroes give us courage in fighting the enemy and withstanding the evil wind and the evil trend. The more people curse us, the more we must sing. Sing until red flags flutter across the five continents and the four seas." The Right deviationist wind that ran wild for a time did not frighten the people of Hsiaochinchuang armed with Mao Tsetung Thought but, on the contrary, it hardened our revolutionary fighting will to advance against the wind. In late fall and early winter last year, when the county and its communes started building an irrigation project, we moved the evening political school to the work site. We set up mattress sheds on a slope where the school conducted its classes to give publicity to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party's basic line. The wind was chilly and strong, but it did not blow out the lights of the evening political school. The "ten new things," ten new socialist things, became more consolidated and developed in struggle. The poor and lower-middle peasants said in praise of them: "Flowers of the new things are red, blooming throughout the four seasons. The cold current is not to be feared, for it makes the leaves even more fresh and green. In spite of violent storms, all flowers turn to the sun."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful driving force behind the development of our social productive forces." The tremendous changes that came over our Hsiaochinchuang since the great cultural revolution have once again proved that this thesis of Chairman Mao's is absolutely correct. Before the liberation, Hsiaochinchuang was a poor village of farm hands, suffering from natural calamities in nine years out of ten. Then came the liberation and the land reform. Becoming masters of the land, the poor and lower-middle peasants set up cooperatives and then the people's commune. But, before the great cultural revolution, due to the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, we did not grasp class struggle as the key link. Production made tardy progress, with grain output at only slightly over 100 catties per mow. For years, we had to buy back grain from the state, and became "a unit with longstanding difficulties" in the county. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius gave Hsiaochinchuang a new life. Taking class struggle as the key link, we vigorously criticized capitalism and revisionism, considerably aroused the socialist activism of the commune members, and gave a boost to the development of agricultural production. Per-mow grain output met the target set in the National Program for Agricultural Development in 1972, crossed the "Yellow River" in 1973 and the "Yangtze River" in 1974. The "three-autumn jobs" busy season last year happened to be a time when the Right deviationist wind was blowing most fiercely, but the cadres and masses doubled their efforts in grasping revolution and promoting production, raising the per-mow grain output to a thousand catties, a record in the history of Hsiaochinchuang. These inspiring changes are the very results of firmly adhering to the Party's basic line and conducting an in-depth revolution in the ideological sphere.

The revolution in the ideological sphere has profound class content inasmuch as it seeks to eliminate what is bourgeois and establish what is proletarian. Isn't it absurd for those whipping up the Right deviationist wind to distort this solemn class struggle as a matter of "talking and singing," "jumping and dancing"? In creating "ten new things" and unfolding mass cultural activities in various forms, our brigade encourages talking about Marxist revolutionary principles and singing the praises of lofty ambitions of the proletariat. Such lively ideo-political work can transform a spiritual force into a tremendous material force. Don't we have the best proof in the fact that over these years our brigade's collective economy has developed briskly with per-mow grain output crossing the "Yangtze River" and then breaking through the "1,000-catty mark"? These lively facts have effectively answered the slander thrown at us by the Right deviationist wind and punctured Teng Hsiao-p'ing's shameless rumor that "we now learn from Hsiaochinchuang, not from Tachai." Tachai is a red banner planted by Chairman Mao. Whatever Hsiaochinchuang has achieved is also inseparable from persistently learning from Tachai. Doesn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing really favor learning from Tachai? No. He has left no stone unturned in tampering with and opposing such basic experiences gained by Tachai as persistently taking class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line, and keeping to the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. By setting Tachai against Hsiaochinchuang, he merely has something in his sleeves.

grasping the general orientation of struggle, and criticizing in depth Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, his crimes in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. By concrete action, we shall protect Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee, and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and win still greater victories in beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

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The practice of struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind makes us deeply aware that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the sharpest ideological weapon for the proletariat and the revolutionary people, a magic weapon for us to vanquish the enemy. Only by holding this ideological weapon can we in the acute and complicated class and line struggles see the direction clearly, distinguish between right and wrong and adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The poor and lower-middle peasants said rightly: "Studying theory is like climbing a mountain. When we get to the top, we can see so much more. We shall have the direction for a journey of ten thousand li, our eyes sharp and minds clear." Since the evening political school was established in 1971, the brigade Party branch has viewed the study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's writings as a matter of prime importance. Having a low cultural level and little time has not deterred us. Rain or shine, in busy or slack farming season, the political school has never ceased holding classes. In light of real-life class and line struggles, both cadres and the rank and file seriously study revolutionary theories, linking the transformation of the objective world closely with that of the subjective world. Many have not only read through all the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and part of Marxist-Leninist works, but have also more systematically studied philosophy and the fundamental principles of political economy. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has left an increasingly deep imprint on people's minds. The theoretical contingent of poor and lower-middle peasants has grown continuously. A generation of socialist-minded new peasants is growing up. Around summer last year, even though the Right deviationist wind was blowing fiercely, we did not change course and pressed ahead against the wind and waves. The basic reason for this was that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought had given us wisdom and strength. Through this struggle, we have become even more convinced that so long as the broad masses grasp the revolutionary truth, the revisionist bigwigs cannot overpower us, nor can a 12-grade typhoon blow us down, and there will be a reliable guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism.

The publication of the two resolutions of the CCP Central Committee and the speedy crushing of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square have pushed the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to a new height. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader within the Party, being the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, rejects the education and help from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and stubbornly sticks to his reactionary stand. He has become a black banner of the counter-revolutionary forces in launching a rabid attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, though Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been dismissed from all posts both inside and outside the Party, the class he represents still exists, and the struggle is not over. All Party members, poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in Hsiaochinchuang are determined to join the people of the whole country in continuing to put the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the first place,

What Does Incident at Tienanmen Square Show?

Jen-min Jih-pao Editorial

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 5, April 23, 1976)

under the leadership of the party central committee headed by our great leader chairman mao, the heroic people in the capital crushed with one stroke the counter-revolutionary political disturbance at tienanmen square. through this soul-stirring struggle, tienanmen square has taken on new lustre and magnificence. the five-star red flag flutters in the breeze, the great hall of the people stands majestically and the monument to the people's heroes rises like an impregnable mountain peak. the whole nation warmly supports the two resolutions of the party central committee, vehemently denounces the counter-revolutionary activities of a handful of class enemies, and indignantly criticizes the crimes of teng hsiao-ping in attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. the hearts of the people, the party and the party members turn to chairman mao and the party central committee like sunflowers turn to the sun. the revolutionary current of the hundreds of millions of armymen and people, resolute in continuing the revolution and opposing restoration and retrogression, is irresistible. the class enemies tremble with fear. the small number of people who were duped have been quickly awakened. the situation is excellent.

the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square is very good material for lessons by negative example. it sharply reveals the law governing the class struggle in the historical period of socialism and its characteristics. we can use the negative example to carry out living education among the people of the country in consolidating proletarian dictatorship and in opposing capitalist restoration.

first, it further shows that the bourgeoisie is to be found inside the communist party. the two-line struggle in the party is a life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

chairman mao points out: "you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

if, formerly, some did not comprehend that capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie in the party and are the main target of the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, then the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square should serve as an eye-opener. why did these counter-revolutionary elements try to cast teng hsiao-ping in the role of nagy, the ringleader of the hungarian counter-revolutionary coup? because teng hsiao-ping is the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the party and the behind-the-scenes promoter of the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. the counter-revolutionary revisionist line he pursued crystallized all interests of the old and new bourgeoisie both inside and outside the party and those of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists. thus, the bourgeoisie and all class enemies pinned their hopes of restoration on him. what high spirits these elements were in last summer when teng hsiao-ping feverishly fanned up the right deviationist wind excl. when the struggle against the right deviationist wind began and teng hsiao-ping was criticized, these elements made bitter complaints on his behalf and even resorted to open counter-revolutionary sabotage. this shows that the struggle against the right deviationist wind had dealt the bourgeoisie a telling blow and hit the handful of class enemies where it hurts. that they should put up a desperate struggle and stage a frenzied counter-attack is inevitable. the unrepentant capitalist-roaders in the party like teng hsiao-ping have become bourgeois bigwigs and the main force in the trial of strength with the proletariat and in the attempt to restore capitalism in china.

chairman mao has a penetrating insight into everything. a few persons in tsinghua university last year used letters containing framed-up charges to direct the spearhead of their attack at chairman mao. chairman mao immediately discovered that teng hsiao-ping was the wire-puller and that teng hsiao-ping was launching an all-round attack on the proletariat. hitting the nail on the head, chairman mao said: "the question involved in tsinghua is not an isolated question but a reflection of the current two-line struggle." the development of class struggle has fully borne out chairman mao's conclusion. every event, from the framed-up charges made by a few persons in tsinghua to the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square, has deep political and class roots which originated with teng hsiao-ping. our struggle against teng hsiao-ping is precisely a class struggle of this profundity.

second, it fully shows that there really are counter-revolutionaries whose counter-revolutionary activities are closely linked with the schemes for restoration and retrogression of the party capitalist-roaders.

the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen square had been planned deliberately over a long period of time. new and old bourgeois elements, reactionary men of letters who used a play on words and desperadoes who broke the law and did evils, all exulted in playing their part. they created a stir of counter-revolutionary public opinion by spreading political rumours starting as far back as last july, august and september, and around the ching ming festival came out with a spate of counter-revolutionary sabotage activities. some went about making wide contacts to mount a secret campaign for letters to be sent to the party central committee demanding that teng hsiao-ping be "made premier"; some abetted teng hsiao-ping by extolling his counter-revolutionary revisionist line; some conspired with and gave covert support to the hooligans who made the disturbances; and others went in for overt acts such as putting up reactionary slogans and poems and making reactionary speeches, releasing a stream of counter-revolutionary poison. they viciously attacked our great leader chairman mao and the leading comrades on the party central committee in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. they are a band of counter-revolutionaries opposed to the communist party, to the people and to socialism. their target and their criminal purpose were entirely at one with teng hsiao-ping's. the general representative of these counter-revolutionaries is teng hsiao-ping. as long as there are capitalist-roaders like teng hsiao-ping in the party, the demons and monsters in society will make trouble and launch attacks on the proletariat, and the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries will respond. this time the soviet revisionist renegade clique were for a while beside themselves with joy at the thought that their so-called "healthy forces" would pull off something big. they did not dream that teng hsiao-ping would be so quickly vanquished, and were deflated before they had a chance to applaud him. this incident should clarify and raise the understanding of all well-intentioned people.

third, it shows once again that all counter-revolution is short-lived and can't go far. the masses of the people want revolution, and will not tolerate counter-revolutionary activities.

ten years ago, chairman mao clearly pointed out: "if the rightists stage an anti-communist coup d'etat in china, i am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the

people making up more than ninety per cent of the population." in the counter-revolutionary activities at tienanmen square, the handful of class enemies put on an arrogant front but were actually weak. the fact that they staked everything on this move shows that they belong to the defeated, decadent, desperate and moribund class. the people were outraged at their perverted action and demanded the enforcement of proletarian dictatorship over them. the people themselves took up weapons and waged a heroic struggle against them. within a very short time, these sabre-rattling hooligans collapsed at the first encounter with the iron fists of the people and became the object of mass condemnation. in future, anyone who dares to repeat this kind of incident is destined to meet the same ignominious end.

poisonous weeds can be transformed into rich fertiliser. the tienanmen square counter-revolutionary political incident is a bad thing, but a good thing as well. it exposed the enemy to the full light of day and educated the cadres and masses. we must conscientiously study chairman mao's theory on classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the period of socialism. we must raise our consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and our awareness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. it is imperative to suppress the handful of counter-revolutionaries who attack chairman mao, who try to split the party central committee and undermine the anti-right deviationist struggle, who put up counter-revolutionary slogans, distribute counter-revolutionary leaflets, fabricate counter-revolutionary political rumours, mail counter-revolutionary anonymous letters and organize counter-revolutionary groups and those who engage in beating, smashing and looting. we must have faith in the masses and rely on them. it is necessary to strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions. it is essential to continue to do ideological work well among the small number of people who believed the rumours and were taken in, to help them raise their consciousness and draw clear lines of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy and eliminate the pernicious influences of the enemy.

revolutionary comrades, let us all firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle, unite as one against the enemy and bring the criticism of teng hsiao-ping and the anti-right deviationist struggle to a new height.

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